

MANAGING MULTILINGUALISM IN INDIA

Language and Development

The recent rise of ethnic voices in literature reflects the increasingly multicentric balance of political and economic power with the attendant divisiveness often threatening the unity of many multilingual states. A number of the ethnic/minority movements which characterize today's world situation question the basic premises of progress and modernization. All this has brought about a new global situation raising correspondingly new questions for both the theory and the practice of development.

Among the responses to these developments has been a rich and growing body of research into Third World problems from the perspectives of social science and the humanities. Western-oriented work in this field has tended to stress the process of life. Third World thinkers and activists have, on the other hand, been exploring ways in which existing traditions and identities can be reconciled with the imperatives of modernity without surrendering their specificities to the superficial, homogenized forms of the forced modernization sponsored by the West.

The purpose of this series is to make these Third World responses available to a wider audience and to project the non-Western side of the on-going debate. The series will focus on theoretical and empirical work related, in particular, to the sociolinguistic experience of South Asian countries since they achieved independence, while not ignoring other newly emerging states. It will highlight questions of language, culture, literature, and identity in the context of development or modernization.

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MANAGING MULTILINGUALISM IN INDIA

Political and Linguistic Manifestations

E. ANNAMALAI

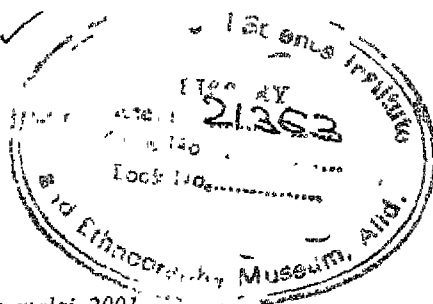
LANGUAGE AND DEVELOPMENT—VOLUME 8

Series Editors

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To

NAGI, MELLI, ANI

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INTRODUCTION BY THE SERIES EDITOR

SUMMARY OF REASONING

E. Annamalai is one of the very few practitioners of a linguistic social science in which the lexico-grammatical core neither competes with nor supplants the concern with the rationality of human choices that keeps a social science social. His readers need to re-ask his questions about rationality. That involves looking at them first.

In this volume, Annamalai weaves a body of writing, some of it taken from unpublished or otherwise inaccessible works of his, into a continuous stretch of reasoning. An exposition of this argument, even at the cost of some oversimplification of its contours, may help. We read Annamalai as handling the area of multilingualism in terms of Queries QA–QC:

- (QA) What maintains multilingual speech communities? How does one promote maintenance?
- (QB) What progress is possible in such a society, and excluding whom? How does one not exclude?
- (QC) What does multilingualism do to linguistic purity? How does one open up the code?

My format distinguishes between what questions on the left and how questions on the right n a b d to bring out the equation lai s

work sets up between two foci of conceptualization: a descriptive What focus and a strategic How focus. In Annamalai, social scientific reason visualizes potential intervention between the what and the how. Such intervention needs a practical breakdown into component factors. My trifurcation A–C echoes Annamalai's classification of his chapters on a multilingual society into a functioning group, a planning group, and a code use group.

A consecutive reading of these chapters yields provisional initial responses to these queries. For coherence, here is a somewhat cryptic and formulaic synopsis, arranged on the basis of the queries QA–QC as R(QA) for Response to Query A, and so on. This synopsis may prove helpful to readers who come back to it after having a look at the chapters themselves, or at the consecutive chapter-wise exposition of the ideas provided after the synopsis.

R(QA): Once a community exists (and this existence is relative to a certain modernity that has mobilized it, perhaps as a minority), it pays to keep its identity. The pursuit of this goal, a matter of Formal Code Rationality regarding the preservation of fairly sharp boundaries around the domain within which continuous discourse is formally organized, pushes the community towards purism. And many communities discover the cost of identity loss through experience—though they do have dissimilar experiential trajectories, especially because of different mixes of the written with the oral (informal acquisition giving rise to repertoire fluidity) in various constituencies. Ignoring each other's trajectories is a costly error that many communities have been making.

R(QB): English paramouncy has given way to regionalized hegemonies that mimic it, through the Linguistic States, an exercise in Substantive Discourse Rationality regarding the running of discourse. But the mimicry is becoming dysfunctional, and the issue of the marginalized is now coming home. It is socially and academically time for real linguistics.

R(QC): Convergence in a 'linguistic area' like South Asia is about the linguistics of how speakers share grammatical structure across community boundaries marked by differentiated lexicons that are kept separate. As a matter of the rational definition of formal codes, the dominant communities have insisted on pure and separate codifications. This has had an unhealthy impact on linguistics. A linguistics attentive to convergence and other consequences of multilingualism needs a re-tooling of grammar to place borrowing in form and code mixing in functioning/performance, relative to code switching in the communicative matrixing that surrounds

all of the above. Such a shift towards a Substantive Code Rationality belongs to a broader realignment now needed, away from a purism that neglects the embeddedness of a lexicalized code in the variety of purposes a language must serve, towards a realism that recognizes the way a versatile language put to multiple uses necessarily immerses itself in the 'impurity' of living.

'Serious' work on language in India, sponsored by official forces, has remained trapped in the rationalizations of a culture-coded purism that seeks to sharply focus each Linguistic State around definitions by its elite. Truly serious work that seeks rationality will wish to move towards the history-making potential of the public, moving away from premature ossification of 'culture'

For purposes other than synoptic, it helps to consider the ideas on a chapter by chapter basis, in the framework of the three groups mentioned. Not all the groups, it will be seen, propose equally extensive changes in our usual thinking. It is this criterion that guides our decision to devote most of the space to the first group in the following exposition.

Functioning Group

Addressing *the sociolinguistic scene in India*, Annamalai begins with the cliché that this country is a sociolinguistic giant and asks what this creature's nervous system is like that makes it different from other species. He notes that that system, namely Indian multilingualism, is bifocal. The elite's bilingualism involves an English that is formally learnt through schooling—and schooling contributes only a quarter of the census-recorded bilingualism in the country. The general public's neighbourhood bilingualism is informally acquired, motivated and sustained by primary and secondary socialization processes at home and the work place.

Annamalai notes the fuzziness of India's language boundaries, which are crossed freely for social purposes (here and elsewhere in the book, he avoids the question-begging term 'language choice'), and the related phenomenon of code convergence due to societal bilingualism and constant code switching expressing multiple identities. He observes that the functional distribution of the various languages in the repertoires of speakers helps sustain a scenario where the languages are in a flux of conflict adjustment.

Annamalai's search for order in this appearance of a mess emphatically depends on antecedent research. Sociolinguistic studies of Indian

multilingualism have, he finds, focused on language maintenance, functional distribution or communication pattern, convergence and code mixing. These studies record not a static or perennial India one can be philosophical or essentialist about, but a changing scene fit for social scientific inquiry.

Drawing on this work, Annamalai reports that the fundamental change has been in the role played by the languages involved in political control and social mobility in independent India. Instead of the old functional distribution based on sharing, contemporary Indians face a more hierarchical relation between the languages within each of independent India's Linguistic States. This shift changes the nature of the multilingualism that counts as our sociolinguistic giant's nervous system. What was a mosaic becomes a pyramid through a process that has featured planning failures occurring in the context of specific and locally differentiated political conflicts.

The general context framing such a change as Annamalai construes it is a democratic economy. While this context makes mobility possible in contrast to the relatively static society it replaces, at the same time it ensures that mobility will in practice be difficult for many. Minority speakers find that discrimination against them by the majority community in a Linguistic State is based not on language competence, a matter of achievement, but on language identification, a matter of ascription. This perception gives minority speakers an incentive to join dominant language identities even at the cost of dialectalization (social submergence within the state's dominant language) or total loss of their minority language. In the other direction, they discover, often one generation later, that they must keep their mother tongue alive to ensure group survival in an electoral system based on the ethnic and caste differentiation of constituencies. Various resolutions to this dilemma get worked out locally. The Indian constant of minority languages being stably maintained over the centuries can no longer be counted on as a perennial landscape.

Next to this erosion of the dynamics of the informally picked up neighbourhood bilingualism that used to run the stable inter-communal equations in the Indian countryside, there is the fact that formal elite bilingualism has been slowly increasing. This bilingualism is passive. English is for reading and Hindi is for receiving mass entertainment. These languages are less used in daily life than the earlier generation's informally picked up non-first languages. The corpus planning (lexical modernization) of regional languages has emphasized the purity of languages and their

pasts recapitulated in their specific

to modernity. Categorical language distinctions polarize the languages and destroy any cross-language continuum of communicability as a socially recognizable reality. The use of specially planned terms create new technical registers for regional languages far removed from common use. These polarizations inhibit linguistic convergence and code mixing.

The new role that social planning makes the standard dialect of a regional language play in the educational system of the Linguistic State makes the possession of that dialect a class characteristic marking the elite. This change superimposes the class factor on the earlier recognizable caste and regional variation within each language. Earlier, variation was managed by speakers unselfconsciously playing up marked differentiators in some contexts and playing them down in unmarked contexts. These manoeuvres become harder. The old interplay of ritual status and economic status of castes now works through the only recently important rural-urban distinction as an intervening variable, for class is predominantly an urban predicate.

The modernizing process morphologically brings closer the varieties of the standard that used to be vertically separated along diglossic lines. At the same time, developing special registers for technical subjects leads to specialized redivergence of subcodes of the standard language.

The change of focus from informally acquired to school-learned multilingualism needs to be considered in the context of the quantitative realities of *trilingualism through schooling in India*. This country treats the existence of bilingual individuals as perfectly normal, but it has a low reported incidence of bilingualism given its more than 200 languages: the figure was only 9.7 per cent in the 1961 Census which one still treats as a year of reference because of the way language reporting in the census was restructured from 1971 onwards. However, this figure is not so low relative to that year's 24.02 per cent figure for literacy. Out of a random hundred, there are twenty-four literates and ten bilinguals.

But does education contribute to bilingualism in a big way? Are those ten extremely likely to fall within those twenty-four? The 1961 Census does not say. The crucial correlation between literacy and bilingualism is missing. But indirect methods establish a negative answer. The figures for tribal literacy, 8.56 per cent, and for tribal bilingualism, 15.73 per cent, are much lower and much higher than the national averages 24.02 per cent and 9.7 per cent respectively. Annamalai is able to conclude that oral acquisition of bilingualism, like oral acquisition of education in general, is the norm.

What, then, does schooling in fact contribute? Annamalai shows that it contributes about a quarter of the bilingualism in that 9.7 per cent. The major impact is on Hindi bilingualism (nearly half the bilinguals for whom Hindi is the second language learn it in school) and on English bilingualism (nearly all the Indians who use English as a second language learn it that way). This should reassure us that the national goals that our school systems were supposed to meet are gradually being met, then. But we had also decided, in the Three Language Formula, that the learning of regional languages would flourish outside their home states. Has schooling succeeded on that front? Alas, it has failed. The need for the use of any given regional language is near-zero outside the Linguistic State where that language is dominant. In the absence of real use, there is insufficient motivation for students or teachers to become high achievers in that language. In this sense schooling fails to implement the Three Language Formula.

If informal acquisition of second languages is so effective, does it also work symmetrically, ensuring equitable relations between major and minor languages? Again, it does not. Facing the facts of *linguistic dominance and cultural dominance in a study of tribal bilingualism in India* leads to the grim conclusion that when linguistic communities are unequal, the bilinguality that results is unidirectional. The direction of bilingualism is determined not just by the balance of power but also by the context of acquisition. If it is schooling, then the tilt is towards a language of power, as we have just seen. Primacy is given to literary skills. If one becomes bilingual through socialization, then the tilt is towards not the official code but the behavioural and perceptual norms of the speech community. Oral skills are paramount.

Tribal bilingualism is higher than the national average, but its pattern is quite different. Nationally, the bilingualism figures are generally higher in urban areas. But tribal bilingualism is almost entirely rural, and thus quite independent of the schooling which contributes to urban bilingualism.

Another important feature of tribal bilingualism in India is that it is not a steady maintenance of a given equation between a tribal language and a powerful other, but an unstable flux. Between 1961 and 1981, nearly half the speakers of tribal languages shifted from a tribal to a non-tribal Mother Tongue (our use of capitals here underscores the technical term status of 'Mother Tongue', the language name that a speaker offers to a census en- for a name that often marks identity rather

than realities of linguistic usage) This shift betokens the great power wielded by the major languages of India.

The origins of this power obviously lie in a 19th century that can be re-narrated on the basis of language as a crucial factor in the modernization story that social historians normally prefer to tell in linguistics-free terms Annamalai shows in painstaking detail how a re-telling of that story that takes the language factor seriously changes not just our visualization of the *modernization process in colonial India* but that of language itself as a site where our thinking about modernity everywhere needs to be continually renegotiated. Our introductory remarks cannot do justice to the rich new ground broken in his re-narration of this country's 19th century.

A prerequisite for any future thinking on such matters is however a rigorous initial study, with tools now available, of the actors who perform the modernizing. Annamalai prepares himself and us for this essential step in his essay on *language maintenance in India*. His underlying question throughout this deceptively simple essay is that of exactly who should count and at what priority level, as the key actors whose perceptions of rationality are to guide the optimization of decisions

He begins by noting that language maintenance depends on acquisition, which in turn depends on language functions. Functions have in recent decades been theorized relative to domains of language use. Drawing on another discourse, Annamalai suggests that the private domain develops solidarity and identity, while the public domain helps acquire power.

With these prefatory considerations in place, Annamalai begins his argument. Language maintenance cannot be just Mother Tongue maintenance. The object to be maintained is one's whole language repertoire. But this is dynamic. When language shift occurs in a multilingual country, what is replaced is not the mother tongue of the relevant persons, but the composition of their language repertoire in terms of the number of languages it contains and their functions. And it is possible to identify the main direction such a shift has taken.

India used to have a robust system for language maintenance. It had a philosophical dimension—traditional conceptualizations of accepting difference; a social dimension—stratification, restricted scope for upward mobility by language choice or other acquired characteristics, kinship systems confined within small caste groups; an economic dimension—feudal and agrarian system tied to land not conducive to economic mobility by choice a political dimension—oligarchic and colonial governance

giving all the power to some non-local language whose acquisition was expensive and socially closed. Under this dispensation, the only section of Indian society for which language shift made sense, and took place, was the tribal communities. Tribals formed 7.76 per cent of the Indian population in 1981, but only half of them had tribal languages as Mother Tongues, indicating that over a long history India's tribals had completely shifted to the regionally dominant languages. Non-tribals, however, maintained their respective languages, for the reasons just outlined. Current socio-cultural change has affected that whole arrangement profoundly.

There are now pressures that push segments of the population into assimilations and dissimilations. Minorities in a linguistic state find it necessary to use the state's dominant regional language instrumentally, thus assimilating in practice, but revert to their minority shibboleth for political identity, thereby emphasizing a dissimulation in theory. This reversion is, however, largely symbolic. It is allegiance, not use, that marks the minority population's relation to its politically necessary Mother Tongue. The conflict of such a minority Mother Tongue in a typical Linguistic State of contemporary India is with the state's majority language, not with the national players Hindi and English. This conflict has not yet been resolved politically and pedagogically. It is this irresolution that makes it an actual question who the real actors are going to be—what the roles are for the state, for the community, for the individual in the emerging dynamism.

Consider the place of minority Mother Tongues in the educational system of a state. India's Constitution gives minorities the right to set up schools of their own where minority languages and cultures can be protected. But it is unclear if the state has a duty to empower the individuals in minority communities to exercise this right. Nor have the key players agreed on the role of social organizations representing the minority communities in this matter. When organizations of this sort do set up schools, the purpose in practice is often articulation of the minority's separate identity rather than linguistic maintenance.

As for individuals as members of a self-conscious and articulate public, there has been no recognition yet of just how linguistic rights are to be viewed and exercised. With linguistic rights not yet embedded in other recognized rights and with no articulate assertiveness on the part of victims as a public that makes its own rules rather than just a constituency for this or that lobbying device, the matter has been left to such extraneous forces as governments and markets. There is an evident need to identify and resist the factors that undermine the freedom of serious choice.

Work is needed to educate crucial actors into seeing that languages are endangered or weakened in India, and that there are issues of public choice here. This point is addressed in the chapter *on language survival in India*. The eighteen languages now officially recognized in the republic are the languages which 95.58 per cent of Indians declare to be their Mother Tongues or working first languages. These languages thus amount to a collective majority, although no single language is spoken by more than half the population of India. But population is not a directly active factor. It acts in relation to political and economic factors. When a minority community gives precedence to survival of self over that of language, insensitive and passive outsiders assume that speakers of the minority language are losing their language 'freely' in order to 'happily' assimilate into the 'mainstream'. This frequent phenomenon leaves speakers of dominant languages complacent about the process. Complacent 'mainstreams' are unwilling to see that acute questions of public choice arise and remain unresolved if citizens stand by and watch such denudation of the cultural and cognitive environment. Inquirers cannot afford to remain complicit with this unwillingness.

How can we make such inquiry more careful? It helps to focus, Annamalai innovatively argues, not on the philosophically ultimate causes, but on the operative proximate causes of language loss: reduction in the status of the language, in its number of users, in the domains and functions of its use, in the code itself through lexico-grammatical attrition (a phenomenon not studied so far in this country), in the number of actors concerned with language survival.

Not all these factors respond to intervention. But status does. The status of a language is typically decided by administrators. Can they be influenced by informed and sensitive input from linguists who carry scientific authority? But linguists are notoriously divided on questions of which set of forms merits separate recognition as a language and which set should be viewed as a dialect of some bigger configuration.

The dialect question poses a challenge to linguists concerned with language survival. The field has not evolved directly usable consensual criteria for objective decisions that the community of linguists will stand by. Individual linguists have to learn by grappling with the problems on the ground and by plunging into the on-going negotiation processes, involving actors at various levels. Short of this, at least linguists can and sometimes do help by performing the minimal function of documenting the less widespread languages. For this minimal aid from the discipline of linguistics to continue, it is necessary that the descriptive imperative

be reinstated in the profession's self-perception, in the face of the factors that push us towards an exclusive valorization of formal theories alone

The Planning Group

In the chapter on *language and the Indian constitution*, the argument stresses that the Indian Constitution is a tool that has helped prevent total transfer of power from English to the languages dominant in the linguistic states. But a tool does whatever its users do with it. The chapter on *multilingual development* observes that the functional relation between languages is decided culturally by the individual, socially by the community, and politically by the state. State-sponsored planning has been a limited exercise and a frustrating experience. Amidst electorally motivated tokenism for minorities, real disparities have grown. The implication is that greater social and individual activism is our only hope for buffering and redirecting the state's power.

A more specific chapter on *language development* narrates in detail how planning has been insufficiently sensitive to the needs of multilingual development and has focused mindlessly on separate processes viewed as aiding the development of particular regionally dominant languages. This has formed part of the *emergence of dominant languages* elaborated in another chapter with special reference to the state of Karnataka. Educational interventions have remained ineffectual because of inadequate visualization of factors and effects. But the primacy of Kannada in education has in fact been ensured, rather indirectly, by the more consistently pursued language policy in administration which has sent the message that candidates proficient in Kannada are more employable.

The Code Use Group

In the chapter on *the anglicized Indian languages*, the plea to linguists is to characterize code mixing processes carefully. The argument at a broader level is that the origins of code mixing are unspecifiable in linguistic terms but 'seem to be sociological'. For most of the English words are not used in code mixed Indian languages to fill a lexical vacuum. Will the code mixed Indian languages stabilize by eliminating alternation, like Malayalam, or disappear like the *maNipravaLa* style of Tamil? Linguists

who watch the process formally can presumably make better sense of it if they look for more than just linguistic determinants.

Having said this, one does wish to give core linguistics its due. *Lexical insertion in a mixed language* is a study of the grammatical neighbourhood, in code mixed Tamil, of English heads of phrases, as well as that of Tamil heads. Using tools from the generative semantics tradition, this study addresses the seldom noted issue of the semantic specificity of the mixed elements—do they have lexical properties reflecting associative fields in English or in Tamil? *The language factor in code mixing* takes a mixed code to be a natural language. It follows that linguistic determinants of the mixing need scrutiny. It may be true elsewhere that 'mixing of verbs is very restricted, relative to other word classes like nouns'. But mixed Indian languages display verb mixing. This could be due to their non-configurational nature, a linguistic property that leaves the verb relatively free, unlike the verb-medial type where the verb is frozen into its phrase. Another possible factor, again a typological matter, is the clause-final position of the verb in Indian languages, where one therefore predicts greater freedom of mixing before the sentence pause. Similarly, when one looks at some *linguistic determinants of convergence*, one finds an interplay of language specific factors, in donor and recipient languages, with language independent universal factors. This interplay, as in the particular case of participial relatives in Hindi and Dakhni, results in those linguistic changes that amount to the much advertised convergence.

But core linguistics, for reasons of principle, never goes all the way. In the chapter on *directions of convergence*, the proposal is that the kind of multilingualism valued and maintained in a society determines the nature of convergence there. The lexicon is less affected than the grammar in Indian convergence. In contrast, the Australian case shows equally extensive lexical convergence. Indian multilingualism prefers to maintain ethnic boundaries through the maintenance of separate lexicons while obliterating grammatical boundaries for the ease of language production and processing. It would be interesting to see whether this distinction between lexicon and grammar is maintained in the case of converging tribal languages—a question which currently available work does not yet answer.

In *distinguishing features of convergence*, a study that concludes by offering a feature matrix array pointing out similarities and differences among various language contact phenomena, the point is that stable bilingualism as a rule leads to bidirectional convergence not only in the sense

of the sharing of forms but also in the sharing of values and behaviour. Phenomena such as linguistic convergence, anthropological acculturation, and sociological socialization are all to be characterized in terms that play up contact and change. But this need not commit investigators to specific types of change as the focus of attention. Linguists have concentrated on convergence of linguistic form. But the example of social scientists shows that there is a priori no reason to exclude the study of patterns of linguistic value sharing. Communities have different perceptions about and attitudes towards the standard variety; different models for language development; different styles for drawing a boundary between dialects and languages, different ways of handling the functional distribution of languages in the repertory. It is only a broader perspective that takes all this in that can flesh out the conclusion that India is a single speech community even from the viewpoint of shared linguistic values and behaviour, not just from that of shared linguistic forms.

ONE RESPONSE

The story told in Annamalai's essays may be conveniently read in terms of a little independence within a big independence. In 1947 India attained national independence, an upper-case Independence managed from the capital city. It then made the further move of setting up a lower-case independence for each subnational region. Thus the new India, sitting in Delhi, carved out Linguistic States and arranged for their management at the uncapitalized state capitals. Delhi's deal with the region in each instance was that the major language, and the elite controlling its discourse, would manage the region. This deal was embodied as the state governments.

All this looked like a rational choice at the time. The dominant premises included what we shall call *Purism and Culturism*.

The Purism of the times proposed the following plan: every language would stabilize as a homogeneous written code once its speakers were free to develop it properly. Once its standards were in place and had browbeaten the other dialects into submission, a school system would impose the single and complete set of standards of this code on all the children in the state where this written and standardized language was

the normal transactive currency. Major authors exemplifying these standards, the schools teaching them, and the media using them, would keep the language pure and demarcate it from other (in an ideal world, equally codified) languages.

That period's Culturism distributed this picture over a set of regions on the basis of expressivist assumptions. Knowledge was one, but needed to be expressed in many formats to satisfy local emotional aspirations, which were called 'cultural' aspirations to not make it too obvious that any appeasing was going on. English underwrote the industrial and social technology that knowledge was for, and would continue to run the national apparatus. The regional languages would express the localness of each state, a task properly delegated to the literary elite in charge of making terminological and educational decisions. Such, in outline, was the expressive component of each regional elite's programme for perpetuating its caste and class domination over the rest of the region's population.

Nowhere in early independent India's standard pictures of national development was there any place for serious public participation in the task of making present and future history on the basis of past history. The population was viewed as an aggregate of malleable and gullible segments. History-making would presuppose a rationality that the public, as the entity articulating its situations and making choices, could wield. Culturism rested on elitist assumptions. Only an elite, being coherent in its visions and actions, could visualize scenarios and make choices. National development involves the elite's acquisition of the art of effectively manipulating the masses. Properly handled, the masses could be led to believe that they were part of every action staged by the elite on behalf of the upper-case Independent Nation in English/Hindi or on behalf of the lower-case independent subnations in the regional languages.

So far, I have employed the rhetoric of authors from our period who moralistically condemn yesterday's elitists and exhort 'us' to move away from this theory and practice of Lucknow's, Bhopal's, or Bombay's lower-case independence within Delhi's upper-case Independence. I now wish to move from this moralistic point to a social scientific one. What makes a social science tick is the enterprise of extending the reach of rationality to what terms like social choice or public choice designate. In other words, those of us who are committed to social rationality work for the emergence of a public that surveys its assets and handicaps and articulately maximizes rational choices.

Given these premises, we look at a yesterday dominated by Purism and Culturism without any passionate moral fervour condemning those

tenets and extolling doctrines that move us. We simply ask if the *programmes* launched under those assumptions have in fact led to a maximization of rational choices. Annamalai shows us that they have not. We then ask exactly where and how the breakdown happened. This scrutiny helps us into another set of assumptions, and towards concomitant programmes of action today.

To act more passionately would be to play into the hands of the very literary elites, adroit at manipulating emotions, that have been controlling our linguistic destinies in this country. We would be verbally condemning Culturism and by the very tone and terms of our condemnation prolonging its life. If an articulate public is to make its own history on the basis of a past it has inherited but can choose to alter, and if this public is to come to terms with the decades or centuries of letting its elite dominate general discourse, then we have to minimize rhetoric for its own sake and get down to work in this and other sectors. Work as a general phenomenon dirties our hands, and obviously brings impurity into any expressive system that one has been trying to purify.

What work awaits us?

There has been a breakdown of order. To understand this breakdown and move towards a new order, we need to do some thinking. Social scientific reasoning can help us while we are on this job. The three questions that drive Annamalai's quest organize our work for us.

Question A, what maintains multilingual speech communities, asks how an articulate public that runs its debates in several languages can exercise Formal Discourse Rationality in the sense of maximizing the fit between its discursive goals—arriving at an informed agreement making practical decisions possible—and its formal resources, such as the languages in its active and passive repertoires.

Question B, what progress can take place in such a society, and who tends to get excluded if this progress is left to its own devices, turns our attention to ways in which an articulate multilingual public can exercise Substantive Discourse Rationality in the sense of running a discourse that makes the most of its substantive resources—its patterns of who knows what and who is in a position to make what knowledge available for active use that will benefit whom.

Question C, what multilingualism does to linguistic purity, is a Formal Code Rationality question. It asks: How can an articulate multilingual public maximize good decisions about codifying what it knows as the basis of a linguistic systematization of education, media, and employment in the state?

What Annamalai reports is that elite pursuit of perceived self-interest in these domains has not led to rational outcomes. In our inquiry today we might usefully assume that the public had initially delegated to its elite the pursuits that these questions represent. The negative results may lead the public to rearrange its resource perceptions and investments. Suppose we authors and readers (whose actions and expectations shape these words) begin to try out, here and now, various new approaches to these issues. Then the substance of public debating changes. So do the boundaries separating temporary elites from their temporary subalterns.

Elite handling of questions A–C in practice has given independent India a history like the following. I find it appropriate to tell the story in a tone of voice that represents the viewpoint that dominated the history itself.

Answer A: Schooling and the print media are supposed to maintain the limited multilingualism represented by the Three Language Formula, which of course we don't have to really operate. Answer B: Universal Primary Education is supposed to extend this multilingualism and the option of upward mobility to all children, though nobody really wants Primary Education to become Universal. The educational road from rags to riches naturally excludes minor dialects of all kinds including most tribal languages, which are surely not suitable vehicles for education or serious discourse (one retreats from extreme forms of this attitude in the face of assertive Khasis here, Bodos there, etc.). Answer C: Multilingualism spoils the school-child's pure English, and Hindi, and regional Mother Tongue by mixing them all up. We therefore deplore the falling standards in education, especially in the regional language. If we are to run English-medium schools, then, let us do so properly, with liberal and global assistance, at long last, now that consumers all over this great nation know what they want, after years of socialist mismanagement. But the states must keep proclaiming their identities, the independence within the Independence. So we preserve the language press. So we do not let the regional language medium education system really die out naturally.

Now, this way of exercising a linguistic state-level independence within the National Independence was evidently based on puristic tastes, assumptions, and priorities. The modernists who copied the nationalist model on to subnationalist aspirations in each region paid considerable formal attention to linguistic codes and official public structures, and very little substantive attention to personal and societal discourses or needs or functioning. For modernism had an a priori approach to tasks seen in terms of nation building. It has been clear for some time now that only an

a posteriori social scientific study of the results of the journey so far can underwrite rational trajectories from this point on. The initial a priori assumptions embedded in modernization programmes have not worked. So new thinking today is both a posteriori and, by the same token, post-modern.

E Annamalai's work distinctively underscores the fact that the study of language cannot be meaningfully conducted in a framework that surrenders to the statism built into standard modernist doctrines—for the state is a *writing*-focused agency, and linguists are students of *speaking*. What, in practice, has modernism meant for linguistics?

Annamalai's perspective enables us to see that the state's pressure on linguists in each region to serve the modernizing nation has pushed them into a self-destructive compromise. The linguists' side of the compromise is the obligation to pretend that a description of the 'standard speech' of the regional elite (characterized as 'standard speakers') is a sufficiently 'descriptive rather than prescriptive' enterprise to count as 'scientific', since after all one is not surrendering to the worst conventionalities of the written code and can thus keep telling oneself that one has not bought into the codification game when in fact one has. In return for this restriction of its domain to only the writing-like kinds of speaking, linguistics is allowed to fit into the role of yet another science in independent India serving the Nehruvian developmentalist elitism that builds temples of modernity. The other side of the coin is that the state protects its systems of language education from the meddling hands of linguists. The literary elite of each state continues to aggressively market its 'tradition' in entirely conventional formats in schools and the media, using the worst of the prescriptive grammar and composition machinery to perpetuate its irrational rule.

This compromise has not only objectively allied linguistics in India with the hegemonic population segment in each Linguistic State, but destroyed the self-definition of the field as not just a study of the negotiation, but an actual factor in the flow of the negotiation between speakers and writers in a community. Self-destructively accepting the deal of modernism, linguists have reduced themselves to the function of commentators on exactly how the 'major' writers speak—never asking what the factors are that make these writers 'major' and keep 'writing' as such in power.

Annamalai has responded to this self-destructive behaviour on the part of his discipline by working to reclaim the serious traditions of linguistics, in ways which become clear as you read the essays that follow

making it appropriate for me to select only one point for highlighting here.

If the initial *a priori* modernism that drove the construction of independent India has been found wanting and leads to a search for more *a posteriori* and postmodern social scientific analysis and action today, one direction worth pursuing is to revisit rationality itself, reopening the question of informed, rational choice that makes its paradigms tick. How does Annamalai's work made available here help us do this revisiting work? What tools does he help us to sharpen?

The way I read his contribution on this front, the crux is that Annamalai poses questions from a historical rather than a cultural viewpoint.

If individuals make their history on the basis of situations they inherit, then it is appropriate for us to view them in terms of the objective and subjective percepts that count as the currency of their dealings. This keeps our view of them concrete, allowing our interventionist journalism to stay in touch with our careful social science analysis.

The culturalist alternative is to visualize individuals as subentities within cultural subworlds to which alone we grant autonomy. This locks our theories into this self-fulfilling structuralism of cultures and into a bureaucracy that insists that each culture be seen in terms of its own concepts, which are allowed to be tacitly and therefore uncontestably defined by the elite. The result of such a conceptualism—all too commonly observed—is that social science writing about each culture, busy inventing 'metanarrative' tools to keep a distance from the literary elite's conventional self-descriptions within the culture, moves light-years away from the journalist's desk. But it is from that desk that serious public action could have been launched and the relevant section of the public helped in its self-mobilization efforts, keeping in view the link between the concreteness of the people we see and our grasp of the percepts they deal with.

To summarize: the historical viewpoint grants the rationality of the individual members of the public who are seen as making a history furnished by the percepts they deal with. The culturalist viewpoint insists that rationality belongs only to the entire culture, which deals in the currency of concepts. For rationality, the culturalist says, can only take a stand at the completely informed idealized choosers that the culture alone enables us to visualize, whereas concrete individuals are always fragmented departures from the idealizations that rationality must work with.

Resolutely rejecting, in his practice, the culturalist escape route, Annamalai prefers to see individuals, however incompletely informed, as

coming as close as necessary to the ideal *homo economicus*. The actual individual who makes choices has always operated on a perceptual caveat emptor basis rather than from conceptual abstractions of culture defined by its literary formalizing elite in self-serving ways. Annamalai's strategy here is to focus on individuals who, being marginalized or deprived, are forced to move away from unacceptable situations. The social scientist can watch these efforts and try to sympathize and understand in preparation for more active intervention in social change. In doing so, social analysis can—not all by itself, to be sure, but presuming help from allies in other sectors—write a public into active, reflexive existence.

If we highlight this aspect of Annamalai's work, it is to underscore the importance of linguistics as a site at which all thinking people need to wage the struggle for a historical rationality that sees the public as making its own history, against a culturalist sidetrack that traps the gestures of rationality into endorsing elite control over segmentary populations. For culturalism assumes that populations can be circumscribed by official ethnographies emanating from centralized map-making enterprises, that all people are masses to be ruled by elites who alone own social science, and that there is no public.

It is to make available for discussion our visualization of this struggle, and the way it needs to be waged for the sake of not just the South but all proponents of rationality, that Udaya Narayana Singh and I have—in dialogue, obviously, with authors, publishers, reviewers, and other colleagues—made the choices we have in this *Language and Development* series. It will have been noticed that our choices respond to, and reject, ethnography-rooted attempts to portray 'tradition-bound' societies as needing to find 'culture-specific' or 'locally appropriate' formulaic methods of accession to some unproblematically universal modernity.

To the extent that the enlightenment has been associated with the premise that this modernity has already been built is certain societies and is available for emulation elsewhere, we have thus been working for a post-enlightenment approach to issues of rationality and choice.

It is thus important for us that the paradigmatic figure E. Annamalai, in his later work not represented in this volume and mostly not even published at the moment of writing, is emphatically post-enlightenment and dismissive of the modernist claim that 'language planning' by the state is a feasible enterprise that merits support from linguists and other social scientists. I construe this turn in Annamalai's work—which it would be aesthetically and intellectually unfair, Annamalai and I felt, to try to represent in this volume itself—as a nascent alliance between

serious linguistics and the renewed conception of the oral against the written or the codified that recent scholarship has opened up for discussion.

A related and equally significant aspect of Annamalai's later thinking not represented in this volume is his return to the grammatical concerns of his earlier career, this time emphatically reaffirming the Universal Grammar characterization of human linguistic capacity and opposing divisive, ethnographic attempts to pigeonhole particular facts into unlocatable 'communities'.

There is also, I believe, a tacit affinity between Annamalai's method of inquiry and other currents of our times which could enter into an explicit cross-fertilization relationship with work of this sort. I have in mind the ecological conservation movement as a whole; its linguistic special case, the conservation of endangered languages; and the enterprise of defending rationality against dominant cultures that takes the form of the neutral intercultural language Esperanto, whose proponents have been working for minority language conservation since 1887.

Annamalai's explicit opposition to the linguistic purism sponsored by regional elites invites the inference that he would wish to encourage explicit work towards a different, more sustainable thinking about cleanliness and pollution in matters of form—a thinking that touches base with the necessary mixtures and compromises thanks to which daily communication in different niches of the ecology stays as 'simple' as rationality demands. His interest in formal grammatical theory can also be read as encouraging a rigorous quest for lexical primes in terms of which cross-linguistic lexical contact can be better understood—with the caveat that his work should persuade us to look for perceptually salient representations of primes, representations that ordinary people can do business with. These vectors in Annamalai's work, as well as his manifest interest in tribals and minority language survival, lead those of us interested in extending his lines of work to a natural interest in environmentalism, language conservation and in the use of Esperanto—an arena where active inter-perceptual negotiation has long been the cutting edge of an articulation of neutrality that is non-bureaucratically, non-nationally 'public', 'spoken' and 'open', rather than ethnicity-bound or codification-drugged.

Many readers will of course retort that Esperanto has failed. We need to face, and examine, this obvious response. Linguistics has been an enterprise, for over two hundred years, of formulating the power of the oral over against the obvious conventional power of the written. It is

clear that, on today's earth, the conventional forces of grammatical codification still represent the voice of the elite of each nation, held in position by the armed force of the state apparatus this elite runs. Do we take this to mean that linguistics has failed? At least Annamalai does not. Nor do linguists quite accept their relegation to the carefully enclaved ivory towers in which they can whisper their concerns to each other. 'We linguists' realize that the elites and the states are—through a general apathy and inaction reflecting distorted priorities, not the malice of particular actors—still successfully perpetuating a massification of human beings that prevents the emergence of an articulate public. But we do not doubt that the post-ethnic human public, once it emerges, will use its linguistics to reaffirm its newly won humanness—not 'our' linguistics, for our temporary estrangement from the general population creates only an artificial barrier that makes us imagine that 'we linguists' are an embattled community. That public will use its linguistics on all relevant fronts to clean up an act dirtied by millennia of misrule by the written, codified state apparatuses.

If the distance between this vision, which in some form is shared by the entire enterprise of linguistics, and contemporary reality does not make us declare linguistics a failure, then obviously the common and hasty decision to ignore Esperanto is beside the point. For linguists interested in the concerns Annamalai raises in this volume to fail to use Esperanto in their own work and thinking is roughly as rational as it would be for syntacticians to avoid formal generative machinery and still try to do syntactic research.

It is important to note that I do not mean this as an invitation to play private games. This point takes us to Annamalai's own quiet insistence on keeping his speaking voice at a level that does not lose sight of the public domain in which social rationality must intervene, that does not lock itself into any merely academic or cultural community. I read his quiet insistence as a methodological manoeuvre. It may be useful to look at it with some care.

What is Annamalai's speaking position as the author of the texts collected here? Must we focus on the biographical fact that he spent most of his part academic, part administrative working life at the Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore? I do not of course intend to dismiss this fact as irrelevant. But Annamalai's speaking position significantly distinguishes him from others who have worked and lived at that institute

Annamalai speaks as an academic trying to address the state and civil society in the same breath. His personal trajectory has made visible the gradually felt Indian disenchantment with the state and with this speaking position. In his most recent writings, inadequately represented in this volume, Annamalai addresses civil society, but still with residual reminders that the state cannot quite be dropped from the list of invitees to the conversation, although it never responds.

This shift in Annamalai's speaking position reflects his realization, which has grown over the years, that standard state-sponsored language planning is afflicted by an incurable malaise. But whether linguistic diversity will survive remains a public issue, even if the state apparatus which claims to represent its constituencies is manifestly unable to promote such survival. He therefore chooses to keep intervening in a public space, and to continue to use a publicly accessible rhetoric as he does so.

There is an important point quietly embedded in his choice of rhetoric. Academics who emphasize their specialist expertise can contribute to the general welfare, indirectly, and through the private process of bringing about a desired consensus within the subcommunity of their expert colleagues. But they cannot, by speaking in this rhetoric that works only for fellow experts, take direct part in the community's debates that decide which way the welfare chariot is going to turn. And for experts to simply take a back seat and let the crowd decide on general issues would be irresponsible. Such a decision would not be conducive to the health of public debates. By not shutting himself up in such an ivory tower, Annamalai votes against the overdose of academic privacy that many of us—through deliberate choice or through the inertia that keeps us on easy routes—opt for.

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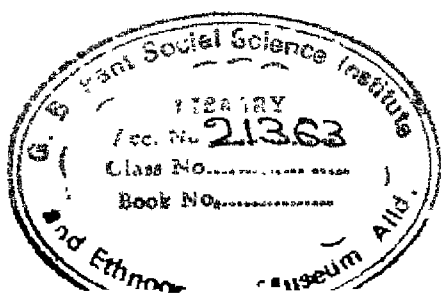
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PART 1

**FUNCTIONING
MULTILINGUALISM**

1

INTRODUCTION: THE MULTILINGUAL SCENE

India is said to be sociolinguistic giant (Pandit 1972), and a giant is huge and different from the ordinary. The nerve system of this giant is multilingualism. Indian multilingualism is huge in size with over 1,600 mother tongues reducible to about 200 languages for a population of about 940 million people and with the population of many of the linguistic minorities larger than many European countries. It is different in function from the demographically multilingual but functionally monolingual countries. It is functionally multilingual with forty-seven languages used in education as medium, eighty-seven in press, seventy-one in radio, thirteen in cinema and thirteen in state-level administration. It is also different in distribution, with about half of the country's districts having linguistic minorities exceeding 20 per cent of the district's population. The magnitude of multilingualism in India has made scholars wonder about how communication happens and how social cohesion is maintained. An important characteristic of Indian multilingualism is that it is bifocal, existing both at the mass level and the elite level. At the elite level, it is English bilingualism, which is formally acquired. At the mass level, it is neighbourhood bilingualism which is

informally acquired. Another characteristic is the fuzziness of language boundaries (Khubchandani 1983), particularly in areas where language are in contact, and it is more so in the perception of speakers than in the analysis of linguists, who impose their categorization on the linguistic continuum. The speaker perhaps perceives a speech continuum in which the other person speaks differently from him, not necessarily a different language, and he moves naturally back and forth along this continuum.

Related to this is the phenomenon of 'Indianization' of languages including English spoken within the boundaries of the country endowing them with shared features irrespective of different genetic affiliations. The languages have converged to become 'Indian' in a linguistic sense. The convergence is due to societal bilingualism and constant code switching. Indian multilingualism is motivated and sustained by the primary and secondary socialization processes at home and the work place; only a quarter of the multilingualism is contributed by formal learning in schools, and it is of the elite kind (Chapter 2). It is bounded by the speaker's needs of earning and living and he acquires enough language for specific purposes. He does not regard himself as multilingual in the academic sense of having native-like competence, and according to self reports in the census only less than 10 per cent of the population is bilingual. It is natural for him to switch from one language to another when he moves in different domains or when the subject or actors change in the same domain.

Functional distribution of languages helps the languages not to be in conflict with an individual. One language is for ethnic identity, another for business transactions, another for official dealings, another for entertainment, another for rituals and so on. Identity is not restricted to ethnic identity alone and a speaker may carry different identities in different social contexts. He may use different languages to exhibit these different identities (Dua 1982). The multiple identities of a person avoid identity crisis and therefore language conflict may not arise at the personal level. These are some contributing factors for the maintenance of language in India, where language maintenance is the behavioural norm (Pandit 1977).

The linguistic repertoire required for the different functions is not burdensome because of the bounded competence and grammatical convergence mentioned above and because of code mixing. The mixing of codes helps simultaneous expression of multiple identities (Southworth 1980). The language boundaries are not puritanically guarded and they are crossed freely for social purposes.

The sociolinguistic research on multilingualism in India has, naturally, concentrated on language maintenance, functional distribution or communication pattern, convergence and code mixing. The studies show that the multilingual scene in India is changing. The fundamental change is the change in the role of language for political control and social mobility in independent democratic India. Earlier, English played the pervasive role for political control and social mobility and it was the sole dominant language. Now many Indian languages compete for the dominant position at different levels and the minority languages seek protection from unfavourable domination. This leads to language conflict at the societal level. The reorganization of the provinces into linguistic states based on the principle of one language for one state made possible the emergence of the numerically largest language in the state as the dominant language. This has changed the sociolinguistic relation between languages and the conflicts inherent in the struggle to attain an acceptable position lead to linguistic tension. The new relation is more hierarchical functionally as the language used in domains like administration and education provides greater access to power and status than others. It is not the old, equally sharing functional distribution of Indian languages. This change is bringing about a change in the nature of multilingualism in the country.

The opportunities for education and employment have been made open to all segments of the society and the opportunities have increased in the process of national development. In the traditional Indian society stratified by caste where the hierarchical status is determined by the ritual position ascribed by birth which cannot be changed by individual achievement, there is not much hope of substantially changing the position in the hierarchy by the acquisition of the language of power or the standard dialect of the powerful group in one's own language. Now people can aspire for higher economic status irrespective of caste, and control of and identity with the dominant language of the state are becoming more and more necessary for achieving it. As there are not enough opportunities to meet the aspirations of all the people and as there is anxiety on the part of the early achievers to keep the boundaries difficult to cross for the newcomers, the language is used more and more to discriminate groups, to restrict their opportunities and to keep them out of bounds of power.

As discrimination is done not by language competence, which is a matter of achievement, but by language identification, which is a matter of ascription, the groups which do not get the identity of the dominant language by birth wish to get it, if necessary, even by giving up their

mother tongue. At the same time however, there is also a need to keep the group's mother tongue for its separate ethnic identity and political survival in a democratic set-up. This ambivalence is resolved differently by different groups that differ in their linguistic history, political aspiration and ethnic consciousness and in their relation with the majority in terms of power and population (Srivastava 1984). Some have chosen to shift their language. The picture of stable multilingualism described earlier is thus changing with some groups in the new economic and political context.

There are other respects in which the nature of multilingualism in India is changing. The elite bilingualism is slowly increasing quantitatively, in which other tongues are learnt through formal schooling, as school education is expanding. These other tongues are not the neighbourhood languages and not even the local *lingua francas* but the link languages at the national level, viz., English and Hindi (Dua and Sharma 1977). Thus there will emerge a national pattern of multilingualism in place of the local grass root multilingualism. The schools and other formal means of learning like correspondence courses and evening classes emerge more and more as agents for the spread of multilingualism than the informal learning as part of living. The formal multilingualism, particularly that acquired through school, is for limited and general competence and is not oriented towards use in daily life as the mass bilingualism is and in that sense it is passive. The English bilingualism at the middle level is largely for reading materials like newspapers and official communications, and the Hindi bilingualism for media entertainment like movies and television.

The new roles of the major Indian languages in administration and education have necessitated the development of their corpus and these new dominant languages have received greater attention and support for this kind of development. They get the major share in the resources of the state. Language development tends to emphasize the distinctiveness and purity of languages and language distinctions are drawn categorically. The emergence of standard dialects and the social and economic values attached to them have made other dialects low and dispensable. The linguistic distinction between dialect and language, it must be noted, is immaterial in the sociolinguistic context of India. What is considered to be a separate language like Maithili by linguists on historical and grammatical grounds may be perceived by some of its speakers as a dialect and be reported as such in the census and as a separate language with a literary history of its own by other speakers. The development of new vocabulary

and registers is far removed from common use and a dichotomy is created between the developed variety and common variety of the language. The languages as well as the dialects are thus polarized and the speech continuum mentioned earlier is broken by planning (Khubchandani 1983).

This polarization inhibits convergence, particularly at the lexical level and discourages code mixing, particularly in the formal use of the language. Thus a mosaic of languages, formally and functionally, is becoming a pyramid of discrete mutually exclusive languages.

The heterogeneity of languages, which is the hallmark of India's linguistic scene, is equally true of internal variation within a language, though as pointed out earlier, the dichotomy may be analytical truth and not behavioural norm. The linguist familiar with the horizontal dimension of variation of languages along the geography of the land constructs the vertical dimension of variation and its correlation with social stratification by caste (Gumperz 1958, Pandit 1969; Ramanujan 1968).

Since caste is the unit of social action in India according to sociologists, the speech of a caste is taken as the unit for linguistic description by the linguists and many descriptions of the so-called caste dialects have been written on the model of the descriptions of regional dialects. The drawing of social isoglosses on the basis of linguistic variables was not as common (cf Gumperz 1958; Shanmugam Pillai 1965) as spatial isoglosses are in the dialect surveys of Indian languages. Though there is no direct correspondence between individual castes and dialect variation (Annamalai 1982) the studies suggest that there is a three level social differentiation of speech corresponding to three clusters of castes—high, middle and low. Though there are some features specific to individual castes across regions, 'caste dialect' is generally limited by region. The region has specific linguistic features, but in each region the castes have their distinguishing features. Thus in the structure of variation the region is the base on which the caste superstructure stands.

The other aspects of sociolinguistic variation, besides the correlation with social stratification, which is dependent on region, is the pattern of group interaction and its relation to variation. The social interaction of different castes appears to strengthen variation rather than weaken it because the caste distinctions are maintained through linguistic differences besides other symbols (Bright and Ramanujan 1964; Pandit 1969). There is however, the processes of standardization also in which the variations, particularly the marked ones, are levelled primarily through education. In migration, one acquires the speech variety of the migrated region

appropriate to one's caste and so migration does not level variation as it replaces one variety with another. The role of education in the evolution and spread of the standard dialect as opposed to the maintenance of differences in informal interaction has the consequence that interaction has different effects in the educational situation and in the ordinary life situation. The standard dialect becomes a characteristic of class because of the role of education in it and, in the structure of variation, class variation is superimposed on caste and regional variation. The caste as a social variable that determines language use plays a lesser role in urban than in rural areas. In urban areas, class is a more important variable. The interplay of the ritual status of caste and the economic status of class is a complex one and the rural-urban distinction is an intervening variable in it.

It is not necessary that the standard dialect is the speech of a particular caste and a particular region, which serves as a model, and that the speakers of other varieties try to approximate the standard by losing their dialects. The marked linguistic features may be maintained to keep social distinctions and may be submitted when the social distinctions are to be underplayed or concealed. Thus the speaker manipulates the marked features for a particular social purpose in a given interactive situation. The use of language in interaction reflects the social structure more clearly than the formal language variation. The linguistic variables, in other words, are manipulated to express social relations such as social distance, social control, social solidarity and social identity. The study of the use of politeness forms, for example, by different castes in their interaction with others shows a correlation with the hierarchical ritual ranking of the castes (Levinson 1982).

The other kinds of linguistic variations are on the situational axis with formal and informal poles giving styles and on the subject matter axis giving registers. Indian languages are noted for their diglossic variation where the spoken variety and the written variety differ substantially in lexicon, morphology, phonology and pronunciation but they come closer in the formal spoken contexts. A dynamic process of convergence between them is going on functionally and formally (Annamalai 1976, Shanmugam Pillai 1965) as a result of the spread of literacy and as part of the modernization of language. At the same time, the Indian languages also develop special registers to deal with new subjects like law, medicine and science and these professional varieties diverge from the spoken variety.

Multilingualism in India is a product of its history and a reflection of its cultural value of diversity. In modern times, maintenance of multilingualism is an expressed policy, which is supported by the Constitution that came into force in 1950 (Chapter 7). Schools play a role in maintaining multilingualism and in changing its nature as do socio-political dynamics. Planning for the development of Indian languages for their new roles in independent India is to ensure, in theory, that it allows the multilingual base to continue. Planning and political developments have changed the nature of multilingualism by redefining the functional relation between languages. There have been planning failures and political conflicts in this process

Functional multilingualism is simultaneously a social and a linguistic phenomenon. Multilingualism makes possible, even necessary, the mixing of languages and convergence between languages. They happen according to socially contracted rules of language use, which in turn are governed by the grammatical rules of what is possible in a natural language

The chapters in this book divide themselves into three aspects of multilingualism. Chapters 2–6 (Functioning Multilingualism) describe acquisition, distribution, maintenance and vitality of multilingualism in India, the next four chapters (Planning Multilingualism) examine the planned and non-governmental efforts for language development and multilingual maintenance; the last six chapters (Using Codes in Multilingualism) discuss the grammatical outcomes in the languages in contact. All the chapters together attempt to give a multidimensional view of Indian multilingualism. They describe how multilingualism is managed functionally, politically and grammatically at the level of the individual, the community and the state. They also show that while the planners of language make language boundaries and norms by creating the standard and the official in public domains the users of language break them by mixing and converging the codes in private domains. There are multiple actors and actions in the multilingual scene making it vibrant.

TRILINGUALISM THROUGH SCHOOLING

Multilingualism in India is characterized by its social acceptance as a normal societal phenomenon. To be a multilingual is not considered to be a deviant or exceptional behaviour, though the reported percentage of bilinguals in a country with about 200 languages is around 10 per cent (9.7 per cent according to the 1961 Census, 13.04 in 1971 and 13.34 in 1981) of the total population. People learn another language as part of their socialization process whenever there is a need for it for communicative, economic, cultural or religious purposes and they maintain the languages for use in different domains with functional complementation and formal convergence of their grammars as a result of constant switching between domains.

The percentage of bilingualism is considerable when compared with the percentage of literacy in India, which was 24.02 per cent in 1961. For about every two literate persons, there is one bilingual. It does not, however, mean that bilinguals are a subset of literate persons. Illiteracy in India does not come in the way of becoming a bilingual. It is likely that among the bilinguals there is a sizeable percentage of illiterates, though it is difficult to be precise as the census does not give the important

correlation between literacy and bilingualism. The likelihood, however, is strengthened by the fact that the tribal literacy is much below the national average (8.56 per cent in the 1961 Census), but tribal bilingualism is higher than the national average (15.73 per cent in the 1961 Census).

It also does not mean that multilingualism is acquired always as part of the process of becoming literate through conscious instruction in formal or non-formal education. There are literate migrants in a non-native linguistic area, who learn the language of the area informally and become oral bilinguals in that language. It is possible that, like general education, language learning also takes place more outside the school than inside. The question this chapter examines is the contribution of schooling, quantitatively and qualitatively, to multilingualism in India.

There are three sources for learning a second language in India: formal education, non-formal education and informal education. Formal education is imparted by schools; non-formal education by adult literacy centres and voluntary organizations; and informal education by life itself. It is difficult to estimate the contribution to multilingualism by language learning through non-formal education. Its contribution may be more for Hindi as organizations like Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha (set up in 1918) and the Hindustani Academy (set up in 1927) have been teaching Hindi for a long time through correspondence and voluntary classes. Acquiring literacy in a second language through adult literacy centres is limited to linguistic minorities. The efforts to teach non-Hindi languages on a voluntary basis like those by the School of South Indian Languages in Lucknow have limited impact. There are some minority voluntary organizations to teach the regional language of the state, where they are located, but they are marginal. Recently some tutorial schools have started teaching English, but they have not covered any sizeable number of people.¹ This chapter ignores the contribution of non-formal education to multilingualism for want of data.

Multilingualism being an accepted social behaviour, the formal education has multilingualism as an essential part of its curriculum. The national objective of maintaining and improving societal bilingualism is to be achieved through formal education. Indian schools have been teaching three languages for a long time starting from the last phase of the colonial period itself. The educational policy after Independence defined the three languages to be taught in the secondary schools and this definition divides the country into two regions, viz., Hindi speaking (42.3 per cent of the population according to the 1961 Census) and non-Hindi speaking (57.7 per cent). Note that the definition is not based on a division of population

as Hindi speakers (30.4 per cent) and non-Hindi speakers (69.6 per cent), but on the region, which is multilingual population-wise. This policy is known as the Three Language Formula (TLF). The TLF was originally proposed by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1957, accepted by the Conference of Chief Ministers in 1961, modified by the Education Commission headed by Kothari in 1966 and voted by the Parliament, and incorporated into the National Policy on Education in 1968. The policy thus got official sanction two decades after Independence.

The details of the formulation of TLF at the different stages mentioned above are different and they have significantly different implications for the content of bilingualism in the country. They need not concern us in this chapter. According to the current formula stated in the National Policy, the three languages are the regional language, Hindi and English. As the regional language is Hindi in the Hindi-speaking region, there is a special recommendation in TLF to this region to teach a modern Indian language other than Hindi, preferably a south Indian language, apart from Hindi and English.

With TLF implemented in secondary schools, anyone who finishes school (i.e., Class X at an age around sixteen) must be at least a trilingual. This trilingualism will consist of one modern Indian language, which will be a regional language (i.e., the official or dominant language of the state), Hindi and English (the official languages of the Union). The regional languages in the context of TLF are not the same as the eighteen languages listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution and they exclude Sanskrit, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Nepali, which are not the official or dominant languages of any state, and include Mizo and Khasi, which have that status. They include tribal languages in tribal states (the last two), particularly in the North-east, which are mother tongues of sizeable tribal groups. Nevertheless, TLF by and large emphasizes trilingualism in the official languages at the state and federal levels. It can also be said that it aims at promoting trilingualism to meet the instrumental and integrative needs at three levels: regional, national and international.

The schools, however, offer a wider choice of languages than TLF suggests. The three languages are taught as first, second and third languages and under each category choice is given. The number of languages offered in schools, as per their curricula, are fifty-eight in 1981 (Chaturvedi and Singh 1981), which is 29 per cent of the total number of 200 languages (reduced from 1,652 mother tongues in the 1961 Census) in the country.² The state-wise details of languages in schools can be seen in the Report of the Conference of Education Secretaries and Education

Ministers of all states and union territories (Government of India 1984a). As an illustration, we may take West Bengal, though all states do not have the same range of choice. The languages offered in this state are as follows:

1. First Language - any one
Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Lushai, Malayalam, Marathi, Modern Tibetan, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Gurmukhi, Santali, Sadani, Telugu, Tamil and Urdu.³
2. Second Language - any one
English, if any language other than English is offered as the first language or Bengali, if English is offered as first language.
3. Third Language - any one
A classical language, a modern foreign language other than English, a modern Indian language other than the first language.

The break-up of the fifty-eight school languages is as follows (Chaturvedi and Singh 1981):

Modern Indian languages	48
Modern foreign languages	4 (French, German, Portuguese, Tibetan)
Classical Indian languages	2 (Pali, Sanskrit)
Classical foreign languages	4 (Arabic, Latin, Persian, Syrian)

The distribution of modern Indian languages is as follows:

Major Indian languages (scheduled languages)	14
Minor languages	33
English	1

Among the minor languages, twenty-eight are spoken by tribal communities and five by non-tribal communities (Bodhi, Dogri, Konkani, Manipuri and Nepali)

The three languages are not taught simultaneously throughout the school years. The first language is taught from the primary stage (from Class I to X), the second language from the middle stage (from Class IV or V to X) and the third language at the middle stage (from Class IV or

V to VII or VIII or at the secondary stage). All the states do not have a uniform break-up of school years into three stages, viz., primary, middle and secondary, and do not introduce each of the three languages in the same class. The state-wise details of class structure into stages and the classes in which English, the predominant second language and Hindi, the predominant third language are taught can be seen in the Selected Information on School Education in India for 1982-83 (Government of India 1984b). It must be mentioned that TLF does not explicitly state which language should be taught as first, second or third language.

It is obvious that all the fifty-eight school languages are not made available in all the stages of school education. The largest number of languages, as expected, are available at the primary stage. The stage-wise break up of the school languages is given below (Chaturvedi and Singh 1981):

Secondary stage	twenty-four languages (fourteen scheduled languages [excepting Kashmiri], Arabic, Bodo, English, French, Garo, Konkani, Manipuri, Mizo, Nepali, Tibetan).
Middle stage	twenty-six languages (the above and Khasi and Santali)
Primary stage	forty-seven languages. ⁴

A fact to be noted about the school languages is their geographical distribution in terms of the number of states in which they are offered as second or third language in schools. This fact is crucial for understanding the nature of multilingualism through schooling. The languages offered as second or third language in more than seven states (about 25 per cent) out of thirty-one (twenty-two states and nine union territories) are English (twenty-one), Hindi (twenty-six), Urdu (seven).⁵ This is followed by the other seven regional languages listed in the Constitution except Assamese, Oriya, Kashmiri, Sindhi and Malayalam. The reason for the widespread teaching of seven regional languages in many states is probably that their speakers are minority linguistic communities. This is true of Urdu also, which is the second largest language in four states and third largest in six states. Among the remaining four regional languages, Assamese, Oriya and Kashmiri do not have substantial mother tongue groups in states other than their own⁶ and Sindhi does not have a state of its own while its population is small in other states where its speakers live. There

appears to be a correlation between geographical spread of school languages and the spread of a minority language group in states

Though Malayalam is taught as first language in eight states, it is not taught in more than four states as second or third language. Telugu and Persian are taught as third language in five and six states respectively but not as second language, while Arabic is taught in five states as third language and four states as second language. Reasons, if any, for these differences are not evident.

A large percentage of students learning the geographically widespread four languages as second or third language are likely to be non-mother tongue students, though it cannot be ruled out in the case of Urdu that Urdu mother tongue students may also have opted for it as second or third language. The other instances of learning a non-mother tongue (in this case as third language) are Arabic and Persian and this is motivated by the religious and classical status of these languages. The regional languages may be learnt as second or third language by linguistic minorities, which may be their mother tongue.⁷ In other words, the minorities may learn their mother tongue, which is a regional language in their home state or the dominant language of the state of their domicile as second or third language. To give an example, the Tamil speakers living in Karnataka, where the dominant language is Kannada, may learn Kannada (or English) as first language and Tamil as second or third language, or Tamil (or English) as first language and Kannada as second or third language.

The preference of languages in the multilingualism developed in schools, as seen in the above discussion, is for the link languages, classical and religious languages and regional languages (which are either the dominant language of the state of domicile or the mother tongue of the minority) in this order. School multilingualism for the majority group is not in any modern Indian language besides Hindi (and English), as suggested in TLF.

The student-wise distribution of the three languages will give an idea of the numerical size of the languages preferred for multilingualism, as the schools offer choice of language to students as mentioned above. The student figures are not, however, available. The school-wise statistics are available in the Third All India Educational Survey (1981) and they may be interpreted to show the trend of preference. It is difficult to compute, even grossly, the student figures from the school figures, because the number of students in a language class may vary from the average class strength due to option and the number of sections for a

class may vary from school to school. More seriously, there will be duplication in the figures as one school may offer more than one language under each category and it is counted separately for each language.

The following table (Chaturvedi and Singh 1981) gives the school-wise and state-wise distribution of the three languages. The languages which are taught in less than five states and in less than 100 schools are not given in the table.

As First Language (total of forty-six languages)

<i>Language</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>States</i>
Hindi	2,39,938	25
Marathi	51,512	8
Bengali	45,419	14
Telugu	43,658	11
Kannada	31,351	6
Tamil	30,373	10
Oriya	27,930	less than 5
Gujarati	24,973	9
Malayalam	20,688	8
Urdu	12,692	17
Punjabi	11,512	6
English	4,354	29
Sanskrit	978	6

As Second Language (total of thirty-seven languages)

<i>Language</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>States</i>
English	1,67,569	26
Hindi	90,900	28
Sanskrit	7,792	11
Urdu	1,944	9
Marathi	1,697	3
Punjabi	829	7
Kannada	612	3
Gujarati	245	3
Bengali	less than 100	6
Tamil	less than 100	5

As Third Language (total of twenty-seven languages)

<i>Language</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>States</i>
English	67,369	16
Hindi	37,891	24

Sanskrit	26,582	20
Urdu	2,074	7
Arabic	1,497	5
Persian	636	6
Punjabi	477	7
Telugu	354	5
Gujarati	less than 100	5
Bengali	less than 100	5
Tamil	less than 100	5

To have an idea of the proportion of schools where the different languages are taught, the following total number of schools in India given in the same survey for 1981 may be compared.⁸

Primary schools	5,30,847
Middle schools	1,19,704 ⁹
Secondary schools	41,002
Total	6,91,553

It should, however, be cautioned that the figures for each language cannot be related directly to the total number of schools and the absolute figures of schools given above will not tally with the total number of schools in the table given earlier because of the duplication in counting mentioned above. Further, it is not necessary that each is a separate school, since a primary section in a middle or secondary school may also be counted as a primary school.

As the learning of second and third languages contributes to school trilingualism (with the proviso in footnote 9) the combined number of schools¹⁰ where a language is taught as second language or third language will indicate in a general way the rank order of languages in which the students will become bilingual.¹¹ The languages which are taught in more than 1,000 schools as second or third language in descending order are English (2,28,948 schools), Hindi (1,28,791), Sanskrit (34,384), Urdu (4,018), Marathi (1,697) and Arabic (1,497). The first four most preferred languages by students as second or third languages are the same as the first four geographically widespread second or third languages. This shows that school trilingualism is more prevalent both numerically and spatially in four languages, viz., English, Hindi, Sanskrit and Urdu.

The pattern of school trilingualism correlates only partially with the pattern of national bilingualism. Some important characteristics of Indian national bilingualism are the following: Bilingualism is predominantly

prevalent in the major languages. Among the bilinguals of the 1961 Census, 98 per cent are bilinguals in the regional languages, Hindi and English (Khubchandani 1978). From the point of view of linguistic minorities, bilingualism is unidirectional. In the 1960 Census 42.1 per cent of minor language speakers are bilinguals as opposed to 13.7 per cent of the major language speakers (Apte 1970). The ratio of bilingualism is inverse to the functional value of the mother tongue of the speakers defined by its rank in the four tier hierarchy of link, major state, major non-state and minor languages (*ibid.*).

Bilinguals among Hindi speakers	5.1 per cent
Bilinguals among major state languages	9.6 per cent
Bilinguals among major non-state languages	18.8 per cent
Bilinguals among minor non-state languages	42.1 per cent

At the national level, highest bilingualism is in English (26 per cent of bilinguals) followed by Hindi (22 per cent). National bilingualism in all regional languages put together is 50 per cent (Khubchandani 1978 Table I). At the state level, bilingualism in the regional language of the state is much higher than in Hindi and English in the South and in the East except in Kerala and West Bengal where bilingualism in English is higher.¹² In the West and the North bilingualism is higher in Hindi. In the Hindi states, Hindi being the state language, comparison between the state language and Hindi does not arise. Comparing Hindi and English, bilingualism in English is higher except in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, where there is a sizeable tribal population who are bilingual in the state language (Hindi) as in the South and East (Khubchandani 1978).¹³

The two languages in which more than 1 per cent of the population are bilingual in all the sixteen states and one union territory included in Davidson (1969) are English and Hindi.¹⁴ Similar percentages of bilinguals in Urdu occur in twelve states. Urdu is geographically widespread both in school and national bilingualism. Bilinguals in other regional languages are distributed in one to five states only of which Marathi, Kannada and Telugu bilinguals are in five states (Davidson 1969). The third position in national bilingualism for the regional languages in geographical distribution after English and Hindi corresponds to their fourth position in school trilingualism,¹⁵ which has Sanskrit in the third place.

The preference for Sanskrit in school trilingualism as indicated in its third place in the number of schools it is learnt and in geographical spread is not reflected in the national bilingualism. The percentage of bilingualism in Sanskrit is only 0.5 per cent and it is limited to three Hindi states

(Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Delhi in that order). The preference for Sanskrit in schools is due to its classical and religious status in addition to its being pedagogically advantageous to learn and score marks.

When we take the numerical size of bilingualism, Urdu comes seventh (4.7 per cent) after Tamil (8.7 per cent), Kannada (8.5 per cent), Telugu (7.8 per cent), and Marathi (6.5 per cent) in national bilingualism. The greater preference for Urdu in schools is perhaps due to certain special aspects of this language. Urdu mother tongue speakers are minorities everywhere and it is a strong symbol of their identity and so they learn it in schools in addition to the regional language of the state. There is also a historical tradition of Urdu being a school language in the North and this tradition continues by students learning it as second or third language. The Hindi mother tongue students additionally consider Urdu easier to learn as they will have to learn only the script and a certain style.

A rank order of bilingualism in regional languages can be made on the basis of the second language opted by students, restricted to the first four—Marathi, Punjabi, Kannada and Gujarati. In the national bilingualism, as mentioned above, is Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Marathi. They do not correspond. Geographically, regional language bilingualism in a regional language is high in the home state unlike in national bilingualism (Khubchandani 1978: Table C). It is not clear whether this will be true of school bilingualism also in the sense that a regional language is learnt more as second or third language in the home state than in other states. It will be true if the learning of the regional language as first language by non-native speakers is also taken into account.

Having noted the partial similarities and differences between school and national bilingualism,¹⁶ the question about the contribution of schooling to national bilingualism may be raised. Before discussing this question, it is necessary to draw attention to certain limitations of the reported national bilingualism in the census.

Among the number of languages listed by the respondent as known besides his or her mother tongue, the census enumerator notes the first two as his subsidiary languages. The census tabulates only the first of these two languages in the published reports. Thus the census bilingual figures are only a subset of the subsidiary languages known to the people. The respondent may have his or her own perception about knowing a language and may have considered literacy skills as constituting knowledge of a language. The listing of two languages by the respondent may not be in the order of competence in the languages. It is likely that the speakers of minor languages may have reported English and/or Hindi in

addition to the regional language and vice versa and they are left out in the tabulation as it is restricted to only one language reported. In spite of these limitations the census data may be taken to show general trends, which are valid.

To establish the contribution of schooling to national bilingualism, there should be a close correlation between literacy rate and bilingualism, distributionally and chronologically. Two assumptions are made here, viz., literacy is acquired only through school education and not informally (the contribution by non-formal education is ignored here as mentioned earlier) and school education successfully develops competence in two or three languages. To hold the second assumption, the educational level considered must be Class X.

The percentage of the population of the age group fourteen to seventeen years, which is actually enrolled in Classes IX-X, is only 5.3 per cent in 1982-83. This works out to be one crore (ten million) students who are actually enrolled in Classes IX-X out of the 18.7 crore (187 million) of the population of school going age (six to seventeen years) (Government of India 1984a). It means that, at a given time, among the school age population about 5 per cent are likely to be bilingual. If we take only those who successfully complete Class X the percentage will be still lower. This is less than half of the percentage of bilinguals in the total population in 1961. If it is assumed that the national bilingualism is evenly distributed in different age groups,¹⁷ in the bilingualism of the school age group less than half is contributed by schooling.

The literate population of the country which has completed the educational level of Class X (secondary education) and above is about 2 per cent in the 1961 Census. This population can be assumed to be bilingual through schooling. This is 20 per cent of the bilinguals. This leaves about 80 per cent of the bilinguals to acquire bilingualism informally outside schools.

Urban bilingualism is more than rural bilingualism (Weinreich 1957), but the exact percentages are not known. The literates with an educational level of Class X (secondary education) and above among the urban population were 11 per cent in 1971, which was about three times more than the national average of 4 per cent in that census. If urban bilingualism is three times more than rural bilingualism, it is likely to be attributed to schooling. It can, however, be attributed also to the relatively dense multi-lingual demographic profile of the urban areas, and to the urban needs of communication and social mobility. Nevertheless, literacy will be at least one of the major factors.

Chronologically, one could compare the literacy figures and bilingualism figures between 1931 when bilingualism was first reported in the census and 1961. Literacy has increased from 9.5 per cent to 24.02 per cent between 1931 and 1961 and bilingualism from 5.7 per cent to 9.7 per cent. The figure for literacy above the secondary school is not available for 1931 to make an estimate of the contribution of schooling to bilingualism. But the figures are available for 1961 and 1971 and there is doubling during this decade from 2 per cent to 4 per cent. Unfortunately, we do not have the bilingualism figures for 1971 to see whether there is a corresponding increase in bilingualism.

The above facts show that quantitatively schooling contributes to less than half of the nation's bilingualism. Qualitatively also the contribution is similar. Among the first four subsidiary languages of bilinguals (English, Hindi, Tamil, Kannada) only two coincide with the most preferred first four additional languages in schools (English, Hindi, Sanskrit, Urdu). The common feature between national bilingualism and school trilingualism is the predominant bilingualism in English and Hindi, the two official languages of the Union as well as the two link languages of the country. Of these two, one is not definite about the contribution of schooling to Hindi bilingualism, as Hindi is learnt through contact and mass media as well and also through non-formal education as mentioned above. Bilingualism in Hindi in the Hindi-speaking states is about 45 per cent of the total national bilingualism in Hindi. If the majority of them have acquired Hindi as the subsidiary language informally through contact as is the case generally with bilingualism in the state languages, then only about 12 per cent of the 22 per cent Hindi bilingualism can be attributed to schooling. This is a little more than half. It is true that in the Hindi-speaking states also the minorities may learn Hindi in school and even if this figure is added it may not enormously increase the 12 per cent.¹⁸ This leaves only English, which is more likely to be learnt only in schools and therefore almost all bilingualism in English is likely to be contributed by schooling. Thus among all languages which play the second language role in Indian bilingualism, schools contribute most to the learning of English.

Successful implementation of TLF is believed to bring about changes in the nature of multilingualism in the country through schooling. The changes include spreading of multilingualism uniformly throughout the country and across all sections of the population through compulsory education, increase in the level of multilingual competence with literate skills through formal teaching and increase in multilingualism between

major modern Indian languages. The formula has not succeeded in realizing these expectations as the above discussion shows. The weight of the educational wastage pulls down the first. Poor teaching of languages in schools does not help achieve the second. Apathy of the states and students towards the third language contributes to the failure of the third. For schools to play an effective role in the development of national bilingualism, the first crucial factor is the social role and status of the languages taught, which are determined by the preferred language use and language needs in all domains at the state and national levels. The present problem is the hiatus between the professed policy and actual practice regarding language use and value. As long as the regional languages do not have any need to fill outside their states, bilingualism in them will not assume national dimensions. The second crucial factor is the efficiency of language teaching, which requires a radical change in the ideology and methods of language teaching in schools.¹⁹

NOTES

1. Brief information about the voluntary organizations engaged in work relating to language including teaching may be seen in the *Directory of Voluntary Organizations* (Sharada 1984).
2. This number is falling every decade. It was eighty-one in 1961 and sixty-seven in 1971 (Chaturvedi and Singh 1981). The reduction is largely in the tribal mother tongue taught as a first language.
3. Bengali is the state language, but the first language includes other state languages, link languages, and tribal languages. Gurmukhi is not a language, but is the script used for Punjabi. The inclusion of it in the list perhaps means that the Punjabi language is taught either in the Persian-Arabic script or Gurmukhi script. It indicates that the identity of the linguistic minorities is an important factor in the offering of languages under first language.
4. The tribal and other minor languages are included here. There is some discrepancy in the languages at the middle and secondary stages. The classical and foreign languages, which are included in the fifty-eight school languages but do not figure in the secondary and middle stages cannot be taught at the primary stage.
5. The figures are obtained by adding the number of states where a language is taught as the second or third language and dividing the sum by two, though these are not absolute figures due to duplicates in counting. They may be taken only to show the ranking. Though the figure for English is low compared to Hindi, it must be pointed out that though it is not the mother tongue, it is learnt as the first language in more states than as the second or third language.
6. But Oriya has a sizeable population in the neighbouring state of West Bengal.
7. The first language will also contribute to multilingualism when the minority language speakers learn the dominant state language as the first language. However, in this

paper these figures are not counted in the estimates of multilingual speakers, because the data are not available and also because they probably do not alter the rank order of the preference of languages as the second or third language. It will be useful to have statistics of mother tongues of students and their first language choice. The figures given in the Selected Educational Statistics 1982-83 (Government of India 1984a) are slightly at variance with the Educational Survey figures given below.

	<u>1981-82</u>	<u>1982-83</u>
Primary schools	4,95,007	5,03,741
Middle schools	1,19,560	1,23,423
Secondary schools	40,694	42,776

There is some incompatibility between the number of middle schools and the number of schools where English is taught as the second language. The number of the latter cannot be more than the number of the middle schools as the second language is taught from the middle school. It may be that English is taught as the second language from the primary stage itself in some states.

The number is not absolute as the same school may teach a language as the second and third language.

It should, however, be noted that the second language is taught for five to six years and the number of instructional hours every week is more while the third language is taught three or four years with fewer instructional hours. Therefore, the bilingual competence in the second and third language must be different, though this difference is ignored here.

Kerala has the first and West Bengal the fifth highest literacy rate in the country. In addition, Kerala has the least percentage (5 per cent) of linguistic minorities. This fact suggests lower bilingualism in the state language.

The regional difference in school trilingualism are not known. It is likely to be similar to the regional differences in national bilingualism.

Urdu is counted as a regional language.

For Tamil Nadu, only the combined percentage of 1.25 is given for Hindi and Urdu language.

There is a problem with this comparison as it is between the figures of 1961 for national bilingualism and of 1981 for school trilingualism. But there is no reason to believe that the pattern of 1981 national bilingualism will be significantly different from the pattern of 1961 bilingualism.

Information about child bilingualism is not available in the census. Therefore, this assumption is hypothetical. It is not clear whether the census had any minimum age for reporting bilingualism as obviously the infants with no language learning ability should be excluded.

If we leave out the Hindi states from the reckoning, 55 per cent of Hindi bilingualism is in the non-Hindi states as compared with the 66.5 per cent of English bilingualism in these states. This also indicates the predominant position of English in school trilingualism.

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TRIBAL BILINGUALISM

Multilingualism in India in general is a stable and natural phenomenon. The acquisition of an additional language does not commonly lead to gradual loss of the first language—the possession of an additional language is like possessing an additional garment, or tool, needed for a different situation or purpose. It is not transient as in the case of migrant communities in some countries like USA, where it is an intermediate, temporary phase in the movement from monolingualism in one language to monolingualism in another. It is the expected behavioural norm when languages are in contact, and not an exceptional one.

Multilingualism in India, however, shares some features with bilingualism elsewhere. One such feature is that when the linguistic communities are unequal, socially bilingualism is unidirectional. The social inequality may be due to unequal power and unequal population of the communities (Srivastava 1984). The direction of bilingualism is not determined by the inequality alone, but also by the type of bilingual acquisition in the particular social situation.

Bilingualism may be acquired either through the process of socialization or schooling, and the nature of bilingualism in each case is different. Bilingualism through schooling, for example, is generally in the direction of the language of power and it gives priority to the literacy skills

(Chapter 1). The direction of bilingualism through socialization, on the other hand, tends towards the behavioural and perceptual norms of the group and the oral skills are paramount. Bilingualism in the tribal communities of India, which is the concern of this chapter, could not have been formally acquired through schooling as the level of educational achievement of the tribals is, in general, very low (with a few exceptions in the north-eastern part of India). According to the 1961 Census, only 0.1 per cent of the tribals have completed matriculation, i.e., ten years of schooling. The description of tribal bilingualism in this chapter, therefore, refers to that acquired informally.

'Tribe', commonly called 'scheduled tribe', in the Indian context is an administrative and legal term to label some ethnic groups—based on their socio-economic status and religious and cultural customs—in order to give special attention to them as mandated by the Constitution. The demographic figures from the Census of India given in this chapter relate to these tribes. There are many non-tribal minorities, who have socio-linguistic characteristics, which are distinct from those of the tribals. It is to be examined whether their bilingualism is also different.

It must be noted that all tribal communities may not be minorities. This is true of some tribal communities in the North-east, if the state is taken as the unit for defining a minority. In these states the tribal language may be the dominant language, being the language of administration and education along with English. The tribal population of India, according to the 1961 Census, is 29.9 million, which is 6.87 per cent of the total population (51.6 million and 7.76 per cent in 1981). Of them, 15.73 per cent (about 4.7 million in 1961) are bilinguals, which is one-and-a-half times more than the national average for bilingualism (9.7 per cent).¹

Any multilingualism can be properly understood only in the socio-cultural and demographic context of its existence. The following background information on the Indian tribes will help to understand their bilingualism. One important characteristic of the tribal communities in India is their heterogeneity; the tribals cannot be viewed as a single homogeneous group of the Indian population. There are 613 tribal communities (Government of India 1978) with their population varying from just seventeen in the case of Andamanese to four million in the case of Gondi. They have 304 tribal mother tongues (i.e., mother tongues not claimed by non-tribal communities), which are reduced to 101 distinct identifiable languages, which belong to four language families, viz., Indo-European, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Sino-Tibetan (Government of India 1964). They also have non-tribal mother tongues, which are also mother tongues

of non-tribal communities. This may be either due to language shift among the tribals or due to division of a linguistic community into tribal and non-tribal on the basis of the criteria mentioned above. Their literacy rate varies from 4 per cent in the case of tribes in Rajasthan to 27 per cent in Manipur²—the national average is 8.53 per cent for the tribals (16.35 per cent in 1981) and 23.93 per cent for the entire population (36.23 per cent in 1981). The tribal bilinguals are 0.2 per cent of the tribal population in Rajasthan, and 33 per cent in Tripura (Itagi et al. 1986)

The ethnic boundary is coterminous with the linguistic boundary for only a small number of tribal communities. In other words, most of the tribal communities are linguistically heterogeneous with reference to their mother tongue, and some tribal linguistic communities are ethnically heterogeneous. This is obvious from the difference between the number of tribal communities and the number of tribal mother tongues mentioned above. For a specific illustration of this fact, we can look at two representative states—Assam in the North-east (before the tribal states were carved out of it) and Madhya Pradesh in central India, whose tribal populations are 7 per cent and 22 per cent respectively of the total tribal population of the country (17 per cent and 21 per cent of the population of the respective states). The twenty-two tribes in Assam have sixty mother tongues grouped into forty languages, and the fifty-eight tribes of Madhya Pradesh have ninety-three mother tongues grouped into thirty-eight languages (ibid). The index of linguistic (mother tongue) diversity worked out on the basis of the proportion of the tribal speakers of each mother tongue to the tribal population of the state using the formula devised by Greenberg (1956) is 0.46 for Assam rising to as high as 0.70 in one district (Lakhimpur) and 0.26 for Madhya Pradesh rising to as high as 0.75 for one district (West Nimar) (Itagi et al. 1986)

The dominant languages with which a tribal community is in contact are also diverse in some cases. This is either due to the fact that the geographical boundary of a tribal community living contiguously may have more than one dominant language around it, or due to the fact that a tribal community may live non-contiguously in the midst of more than one dominant language. Out of the three million Santals, for example, some Santals (38 per cent) are in contact with Bengali in West Bengal, some (13 per cent) with Oriya in Orissa and some (49 per cent) with Hindi in Bihar. The second situation is quite common, when a section of a tribal community migrates to another linguistic area—for example the Kurukh speakers went to tea plantations in Assam as indentured labourers during the colonial period.

Given the linguistic heterogeneity of the tribals, their bilingualism cannot be the same. Nevertheless, some common trends can be detected in tribal bilingualism. Socialization is a process by which one relates himself or herself to other members of a group by accepting the norms and values of the group. If the language of the group is different from that of the individual, he or she has to learn that language and thus the other tongue of the bilingual is socially determined. The domains of socialization are home, village or neighbourhood, school and work place. For the tribals, school is not an effective domain, as pointed out above, as it has not yet been culturally well-integrated with the tribal society for formal education to become a significant characteristic of the tribal population. The work place is not a sufficiently independent domain for them as the separation of work place from home is a development in a society of surplus economy (Hamilton 1978) and the tribal communities have a subsistence economy. Thus there are only two domains of socialization for the tribals, viz., home and village.

Homes will be bilingual when there are inter-tribal marriages. There is no data on the percentage of inter-tribal marriage, nor on whether the husband or the wife learns the language of the other, or both learn a common language or each other's language. In a society with gender hierarchy where women have a subordinate status, it is likely that the wife learns the husband's language and becomes bilingual, as he will set the norms of the home. In many tribal communities, however, the woman's position is not subordinate, as indicated by lesser male control over women's sexuality and economic activity. In multilingual villages, the communities which have a lower status in the social organization of the village irrespective of their numerical strength will acquire the language of the community with a higher status. When there is no strong status difference, the bilingualism is likely to be in the direction of the language of the numerically large group. It is likely to be reciprocal when the population difference is not critical. Reciprocal bilingualism has been reported for the major language speakers living near linguistic boundaries (Gumperz and Wilson 1971) and this is likely to be more between tribal communities.

Apart from socialization, there are economic relations between tribes as well as between tribes and non-tribes at the village level and the regional level. The different tribes may have a symbiotic relationship for exchanging goods and services between themselves and the non-tribals may have an exogenous relationship providing money and materials to the tribals in return for their labour and natural produce or resources

(Misra 1977). Both these economic relations are structural, unlike socialization, which is organic. The bilingualism necessitated by these economic relations is likely to be of a restricted kind and to be functional to serve the particular interaction.

If the above speculations were true, bilingualism of the tribes in a tribal language would be societal and intensive, and bilingualism in a non-tribal language would be individual (or at best sectarian) and restricted.

The figures for tribal bilingualism in the 1961 Census, however, give a different picture. The following table gives state-wise 'other tongues' of the tribals, which constitute more than 10 per cent of their bilingualism (Government of India 1966).

<i>State/Union territory</i>	<i>Tribal bilinguals (per cent)</i>	<i>Other tongues (per cent)</i>
Andhra Pradesh	19.21	Telugu 87.47
Assam	29.77	Assamese 75.71
Bihar	23.71	Hindi 59.37
		Bengali 17.72
		Sadri 11.38
Gujarat	1.37	Gujarati 44.84
		Hindi 25.29
		Marathi 16.82
Kerala	1.47	Kannada 53.74
		English 29.88
		Malayalam 13.21
Madras (Tamil Nadu)	3.76	Tamil 62.50
		Telugu 18.91
Madhya Pradesh	12.41	Hindi 60.35
		Chhattisgarhi 11.54
		Halbi 10.55
Maharashtra	8.43	Marathi 60.79
		Hindi 20.61
Mysore (Karnataka)	16.23	Kannada 53.22
		Tulu 33.98
Orissa	20.75	Oriya 88.39
Punjab (includes a part of present Himachal Pradesh)	19.04	Hindi 44.82
		Bhotia (Unspecified) 26.38

Rajasthan	0.18	Hindi 52.73 English 32.70
West Bengal	29.61	Bengali 86.94
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	7.58	Hindi 84.11 English 13.08
Himachal Pradesh	6.22	Hindi 90.60
Manipur	27.62	Hindi 80.17
Laccadive Islands (Lakshadweep)	3.54	Arabic 51.21 English 20.41 Malayalam 14.01
Tripura	32.70	Bengali 98.79
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	7.27	Gujarati 92.60
NEFA (Arunachal Pradesh)	40.10	Assamese 72.59 Hindi 19.44
21. Nagaland	5.52	Assamese 48.36 English 29.26 Hindi 16.27

The most surprising fact in the above table is that no tribal language figures in it. There are, of course, some tribal languages in some states which are other tongues of tribal bilinguals which constitute less than 10 per cent of the bilingual tribals: in Gujarat, Varli is the other tongue of 9.55 per cent of the tribal bilinguals; in Madhya Pradesh, Gond is 4.49 per cent; in Maharashtra, Gond is 3.94 per cent; and in Manipur, Paite is 4.31 per cent. They are small from the point of view of both the number of tribal languages and the number of tribal bilinguals. It is true that the census enumerators take down only the first two other tongues reported by the citizen and the department publishes the figures only for the first one. Even if we assume that had all the other tongues been reported the percentage of tribal other tongues would be higher, it might not exceed the percentage of the non-tribal languages in the table, which is quite high. This suggests that our speculated inter-tribal marriages, linguistic diversity of the tribal villages and the symbiotic inter-tribal relations are negligible; or that the neighbouring tribal languages are mutually intelligible; or that the functions arising out of these social situations are performed by non-tribal languages which would be the case if they were in a position of power to provide socio-economic gains to their

The latter case is similar to the instances of the use of Hindi or English as the language of the household by the non-tribals in the inter-lingual families, where neither of these two languages is the mother tongue of any spouse.

The table also shows two contact languages (not exactly pidgins) as other tongues, viz., Sadri in Bihar, Halbi in Madhya Pradesh. Other contact languages—such as Desia in Orissa derived from Oriya, and Nagamese in Nagaland derived from Assamese—are not reported. It is a characteristic of the tribal bilingualism that the contact language which is the other tongue may not be the mother tongue of any group. Though the contact languages mentioned above are mother tongues of some tribals, they became so after those tribals lost their native mother tongues, as shown by the fact that other members of the same ethnic group still have their native mother tongue. In the case of non-tribals, the other tongue is always the native mother tongue of some group.

The largest other tongue of the tribal bilinguals is the dominant language of the state or region they live in. In the case of fourteen states, the other tongue is the state language spoken by the majority of the people of the state and a major language. In the case of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland it is the state language of the adjoining state and it can be called the language of the region. It may be noted that these three do not have a major language of their own. The second and the third largest other tongues are also state languages of the adjoining state or states and are major languages. The bilingual tribals with these other tongues are likely to be living in the border areas. Kerala and Punjab give a slightly different picture in that the largest other tongue itself is the state language of the adjoining state, and in the case of Punjab, Punjabi (which is the state language of present day Punjab and a major language) is not the other tongue of even 10 per cent of the bilinguals. The general trend is that the major languages of the region in which the tribals live, which may be a state or extend beyond a state, are the predominant other tongues. The only exception is Tulu, which is the language of a sub-region in Karnataka, but whose speakers are economically prosperous. The other tongues acquired by the tribals may not be the standard variety of the major language, but its regional variety.³ This is particularly important to note for Hindi, which has distinct regional varieties. For example, in Himachal Pradesh the tribals will have one of the Pahadi dialects as the other tongue, which is reported as Hindi. In Bihar, however, Chattisgarhi is reported as a separate other tongue besides Hindi.

The converse of the generalization made above is that the link languages at the national level are not the other tongues of the tribals except in some union territories. This is to be expected: they cannot be learnt through contact in the region, because they are contact languages at a higher inter-regional level, and they are not learnt in schools, because the educational achievement is low among the tribals, as pointed out above. The predominant other tongues in tribal bilingualism, then, are neither the local tribal languages nor the national link languages, but the dominant major languages of the region.

The generalization is true also of bilingualism of the non-tribal linguistic minorities. Bilingualism in the regional language of the state is much higher than in Hindi and English in the South and in the East except in Kerala and West Bengal, where bilingualism in English is higher. In the West, bilingualism in Hindi is higher (Khubchandani 1978). In the Hindi states, Hindi being the state language, comparison between the state language and Hindi does not arise. These regional differences are also found in the tribal bilingualism. In the western states of Gujarat and Maharashtra, Hindi is the second largest other tongue of the tribals and in Kerala, English is the second largest other tongue. Hindi is the state language of the adjoining states for Gujarat and Maharashtra, and in addition to this, Hindi as a national link language may also have contributed to the high percentage of Hindi in these two western states among the non-tribals and through them among the tribals.

The high percentage of English as the other tongue of tribals in Kerala may be due to schooling,⁴ as too may be Urdu in Punjab. Kerala has the highest literacy rate in the country (46.85 per cent in 1961 and 70.42 in 1981). The tribal literacy is also about double the national average (31.79 per cent as against 16.35 per cent) in Kerala. This cannot be said of Punjab, whose literacy rate is only a little higher than the national average (24.74 per cent in 1961 and 40.86 per cent in 1981). The high percentage of Urdu in Punjab, therefore cannot be attributed to schooling alone; nor can the high percentage of Hindi in Arunachal Pradesh, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Nagaland and Lakshadweep, nor the high percentage of English in Nagaland and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The second largest other tongue in Rajasthan is English and this is inexplicable. This state has a high percentage (49 per cent) of English as the other tongue also for all (tribal and non-tribal) bilinguals. (The national average of English as other tongue is only 26 per cent according to Khubchandani 1978). It shows that the tribal bilingualism exhibits the same pattern as the general bilingualism in this state. The large percentage of Arabic in

Lakshadweep, whose tribals follow Islam, is due to its religious importance

The parallelism described above in the preferred other tongue between the non-tribal minorities⁵ and the tribals is very striking. It is striking because their socio-cultural situations and contact situations are different. The relationship of the non-tribal minorities such as the Telugus in Tamil Nadu and Konkanis in Karnataka with their respective majority communities are not merely economic. They socialize themselves into the majority community⁶ and culturally integrate themselves with the majority language accepting it as their cultural language (Pattanayak 1987). Their cultural convergence is indicated by the linguistic convergence of the non-tribal minority language with the majority language. As the linguistic relation between the non-tribal majority language and the majority can be described with some exaggeration as one grammar and two languages, the cultural relation between the communities speaking these two languages may be described as one culture and two ethnicities. The parallelism therefore suggests either that the relationship between the tribal community and the majority community is culturally the same as the relationship between the non-tribal minority and majority communities (which is doubtful)⁷ or that the difference between the economic and structural relation on the one hand and the social and organic relation on the other in a contact situation is not crucial for different types of bilingualism to emerge. The dominating position of the majority language in the region overshadows or overpowers all relationships. If the majority language is not the cultural language of the tribals as suggested above, tribal bilingualism is an instance of the linguistic dominance of the majority language without cultural assimilation or dominance.

There are also some differences between the bilingualism of the non-tribal minorities and the tribals. The incidence of bilingualism is higher in general in the urban areas than in the rural areas in India (Weinreich 1957). But the tribal bilingualism, which is higher than the national average, is almost entirely rural.

The gender difference among the tribal bilinguals is only 12 per cent. Among the tribal bilinguals (4.7 million), 56 per cent are males and 44 per cent are females. The difference is more for non-tribals. The gender difference comes out more clearly when the speakers of tribal and non-tribal mother tongues are compared. Among the male speakers of tribal mother tongues 39 per cent are bilinguals, and among the female speakers 32 per cent are bilinguals. In contrast, among the male speakers of non-tribal mother tongues 12 per cent are bilinguals, and among the female

speakers 6 per cent are bilinguals. It may be seen that almost as many males are bilinguals as females among the tribal language speakers, whereas among the non-tribal language speakers, the female bilinguals are only half of the male bilinguals.⁸ This suggests that women are equal participants in the productive economic activities of the tribal community and are equal members of the group in socialization. This supports the point made earlier that the status of women in the tribal societies in general is not subordinate.

It was stated in the beginning of the chapter that Indian bilingualism is stable. But the tribal bilingualism is relatively unstable. Forty-three per cent of the tribals have reported a non-tribal language as their mother tongue (Itagi et al. 1986). While the tribes number 29.9 million people in 1961, there are only 12.8 million tribal mother tongue speakers (51.6 million and 19.3 million respectively in 1981, i.e., 37 per cent). This means that nearly half of the tribals have shifted their mother tongue.⁹ For almost all the tribals for whom bilingualism turned out to be transient, the transferred mother tongue is the majority language of the region. The bilingual tribals who have reported the majority regional language as their mother tongue may have a tribal language as their other tongue. The details of this shift including the factors that contribute to the shift (Moag 1987), decennial variation in the population reporting a tribal mother tongue, the correlation between literacy and language shift are subject matters for a separate study.¹⁰

NOTES

- 1 The demographic figures given in this chapter are from the 1961 Census in which detailed information is available. Such details are not available in either the 1971 or the 1981 Census. The number of states and union territories is less in 1961 than in 1981. This makes the figures outdated. For example, the tribal literacy rate is highest in Mizoram (59.63 per cent in 1981), but it was part of Assam in 1961 and therefore its figures cannot be given in this paper. Punjab has no tribal population in 1981 but had some in 1961, because at that time a part of present day Himachal was in Punjab. This is a limitation of this study.
- 2 Nagaland and Mizoram are excluded, which formed part of Assam in 1961. Their literacy rate is higher than the national average.
- 3 The subsidiary language (i.e., the other tongue) given in the census for the bilinguals is not the name of the mother tongue, but the name of the language. It means that even if the subject gives the name of a mother tongue (which may be the name for a regional variety of the language) the census classifies it under a language and gives the name of the language.

4 It may also be due to the fact that a large percentage of tribals in Kerala have reported Malayalam as their mother tongue and therefore it cannot be their other tongue. It will be interesting to see whether there is a correlation between literacy and language shift.

5 The comparison of non-tribal minorities with the figures given by Khubchandani (1978) is not strictly correct because his figures are for the entire population covering the speakers of majority, non-tribal minority and tribal languages. Nevertheless, since the bilingualism of majority language speakers is very low (9.6 per cent) compared to the minority language speakers (60.9 per cent) (Apte 1970), the figures for the non-tribal minorities alone should not be substantially different in percentage from the figure for the entire population.

6 This assumes that the state must be taken as a domain for socialization. This suggests that the development of sub-national or national identity is the case of socialization. A recent study of Penyalwar (1988) of the Nilgiri tribes brings out the fact that the tribes prefer to have their tribal languages in the cultural programmes in mass media like radio or television, which is not the case with non-tribal minorities like Telugus, Kannadigas and Saurashtras of the plains of Tamil Nadu. This is so in spite of the fact that bilingualism in Tamil in both groups is equally high. This suggests that the cultural needs of the non-tribal minorities are satisfied by Tamil, but not those of the tribes. There are, however, tribes like Bodos in Assam and Kok Boroks in Tripura for whom the cultural languages are Assamese and Bengali respectively. This is particularly true in the area of literate culture or high culture.

These percentages are computed from the bilinguals among the 114 mother tongue speakers of which forty-three are tribal mother tongues (Government of India 1964). The Language Table in this publication includes only mother tongues whose population is more than 10,000 and whose bilinguals are more than 5000, which, however, covers 95.8 per cent of the total population.

This computation, incidentally, shows that the bilingualism of the tribal mother tongue speakers is much higher (35.56 per cent) than the bilingualism of the tribes (15.73 per cent) and the bilingualism of the non-tribal mother tongue speakers of the tribes is slightly less (9.2 per cent) than the national average (9.7 per cent). The figure for bilingualism of the non-tribals alone is not readily available, and it is likely to be slightly less than the figure for all non-tribal language speakers, which includes tribals who have shifted their mother tongue to a non-tribal language.

It is not, however, necessary that the mother tongue of the tribals was always originally a tribal language different from the majority regional language. The mother tongue may be a dialect of the majority regional language.

I am grateful to N.H. Itagi for providing all the statistical data in this chapter based on the Census of India. His help provides the empirical base of this study. The interpretations are valid to the extent of the validity of the census data. For a detailed field study of the tribal language use in some states see M.V. Sreedhar (1988). This chapter was presented as the Presidential Address of the Eighteenth Conference of the Dravidian Linguistics Association at Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu.

4

ROLE OF THE STATE, THE COMMUNITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

India has been a multilingual country for millennia and, for the last fifty years, it has been a multilingual nation. Independent India has adopted the policy of becoming one nation with many languages and cultures. Language maintenance in the Indian context, therefore, is maintenance of languages at the level of the state, the community and the individual. In other words, language maintenance is maintenance of multilingualism at these three levels. India is not only a demographically multilingual country with 200 languages of four genetic families whose speakers vary in size from less than twenty-five as in the case of Andamanese to more than 250 million as in the case of Hindi (with all its varieties) (1981 Census),¹ but also is functionally multilingual. In the domain of administration, there are two official languages in the central government and about twenty official languages besides these two in the state governments and some more at lower levels of administration in the state or in specified regions in a state. The medium of education as

provided in the education policy of the states is in forty-three language at the primary level, twenty-two at the secondary level (NCERT 1992) and thirteen regional languages at the tertiary (college) level.² In mass media, communication takes place in eighty-seven languages through print, in seventy-one languages through radio and in thirteen languages through film and television (Dua 1991).

The functional distribution of languages is not static and new patterns of use of languages in different domains are evolving. It cannot be static when new social and political formations are in the making. There are conflicts between languages in this process of evolution resulting in a new functional distribution, which entails new relations of status and power between them. The issue of language maintenance is closely tied up with the functions the languages have because their functions in different domains determine their relative status and power, which are derived from their access to the resources of the state and the material rewards they can offer to their speakers. Maintenance of languages, therefore, means their functional maintenance and not just their demographic presence.

A language is said to be minimally maintained if it is used in private domains like home and community.³ It may be a personal use like prayer and entertainment, use in the family for filial interaction between its members and transmission of values to the successive generation, or use in the community for communication between its members for solidarity and expression of collective identity. A language is believed to have continuity of maintenance if it is acquired at least at the same level of competence by the successive generation⁴ to perform the personal, family and community functions mentioned above. Language maintenance thus is dependent on language acquisition.

From a multilingual point of view, however, optimal language maintenance must be described at two functional domain levels. The first is the level of the private domain mentioned above. The second is the level of public domain defined in terms of the functions of the state and the society at large. There are two kinds of public domains, viz., government based and market based. The private domains help to develop solidarity and identity and the public domains help to acquire power and wealth. They have different roles to play in language maintenance. It is, therefore, necessary to measure language maintenance in terms of the nature and extent of their use in these different domains.

In a functionally multilingual country, a person may not have just one mother tongue but may have a repertoire of tongues. This may even be

the norm. And this may be true of the community as well. With such a language profile of individuals and communities, language maintenance is not just mother tongue maintenance but maintenance of language repertoire. Since the repertoire is not static and new languages are added to it or existing languages replaced, the need for language acquisition becomes part of the dynamics of language maintenance from the repertoire point of view also. In multilingual countries, therefore, language shift is not replacement of one mother tongue by another but change in the composition of the languages of the repertoire in terms of their number and functions.

India has been noted for maintenance of mother tongues by the linguistic communities through many centuries (Pandit 1979). The contributing factors for maintenance are philosophical, social, economic and political. Philosophically, there has been a tradition of acceptance of differences and their coexistence, be they cultures, religions or languages. Socially, there has been social stratification based on caste with restricted scope for upward social mobility by language choice or other acquired characteristics and there has been endogamous marriage system with reproduction restricted to the linguistic group (actually to smaller caste groups). Economically, the feudal and agrarian form of the economic system tied to the land did not provide for upward economic mobility by language choice or other means. Further, caste with its ascribed characteristic being the unit of not only social but also economic action restricted upward mobility of the family and the individual through acquired characteristics like language. Politically, there were oligarchic and colonial systems of governance in the past in which a non-local language had all the power and status. Acquisition of it necessarily through formal means was expensive and socially closed to most of the people. For the masses, there was no scope of reward or progress by the change of their language except perhaps in the case of tribal communities in the plains where the shift of mother tongue to the dominant language has been recorded (Chapter 2). Tribals constitute 7.76 per cent (52 million in 1981 Census) of the Indian population, but only about half of them have a tribal language as their mother tongue.

The social, political and economic organization of India has been undergoing fundamental changes since Independence. It now has a federal democratic polity, industrialized economy and constitutional provision for equal opportunity to all segments of the society. There is greater scope, or at least hope, for the various segments of the society for upward mobility and for access to resources and power through acquired

characteristics including language. Caste is now a unit of political action and the traditional ritual hierarchy between castes is replaced by political rivalry to have access to resources and power. Caste or cluster of castes is predominantly the mobilizing unit to exploit the new scope for upward mobility for the benefit of its members. Castes are not linguistic groups in the sense that each caste has a distinct language (it is doubtful that each caste has even a unique dialect) and of late castes are forging unions across linguistic boundaries at the national level. Thus many different castes have the same language and castes claimed politically to be the same have different languages. Therefore, conflict between castes for access to power and resources does not use language for mobilization and mobility except that this conflict may bring changes in the standard dialect of the language. The dialect of one caste or cluster of castes as the standard dialect has been replaced by the dialect of another caste or cluster of castes in a few cases, as it happened in Tamil with the replacement of Brahmin dialect as the standard dialect.

The Union of India has been organized into Linguistic States or provinces on the principle that each state has a majority language. Nevertheless, each state is multilingual with linguistic minorities varying from 4 per cent in Kerala to 37 per cent in Manipur and there are states like Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh where there is no majority language. The majority language is generally the official language of the state. The combination of numerical strength with political power has made the majority language of the region a dominant language in most of the Linguistic States. During colonial rule English was the dominant language with political and economic power, but it did not have numerical strength or a regional base. The emergence of one of the languages of the state as the dominant language demanding allegiance to it and dispensing power and resources through requiring competence in it has implications to language maintenance by linguistic minorities.

There are two linguistic behaviours by the linguistic minorities in response to this new situation, which may be exhibited simultaneously by the same minority community. One is to assimilate with the dominant language educationally, economically, politically and even culturally restricting the mother tongue for a symbolic presence at home and for linkage with the past and the older generation. The other is to assert separate linguistic and cultural identity and to use it as a means of political and economic advantage. This behaviour is encouraged by the possibility in the democratic system for a linguistic group to function as a political pressure group and as a political constituency of interest to political

parties. This second stance may even reverse the assimilation process including loss of mother tongue, which happened particularly in tribal communities. Bodos in Assam provide a violently expressed example of this dissimilation process demanding a separate territory for full political and administrative control. With non-tribal communities, articulation of the dissimilation process is through the demand for education in their mother tongue and for a share in education and employment based on separate linguistic identity. Both stances are made possible by the present participatory democracy in India.

The above use of language for separate identity and political advantage is largely symbolic as far as minority language development is concerned because it demands allegiance to the mother tongue from the members of the linguistic minority community but does not make any serious effort to increase its use or competence in the community. The demand, for example, to use the minority mother tongue as a medium in school education is largely to get the mother tongue a statutory status symbolically, and not to make use of it for the education of the minority children. The Indian Constitution gives minorities including linguistic minorities the right to establish and manage educational institutions for their advantage including preservation of their culture. But under this provision, the elite of the minorities prefer to establish English medium schools for material gains. Preservation of their language and culture, which may not even be taught in these schools, is not the goal of these schools. The symbolic demand rather than the instrumental material use of the mother tongue as the medium of education is true of the elite of the linguistic majority community also. They, however, like their children to learn the mother tongue at least, which is the dominant language of the state, as a language in schools.

School is a public domain where the use of language is an important factor for language maintenance. Schools are under the control of the government either through financing their establishment and operation or through giving them accreditation (called recognition). Language policy in education is an enabling or a disabling instrument in the maintenance of mother tongue and multilingualism. The policy of language in education in India is that at the school level a student should learn three languages in the ten years of his or her schooling with each of them having different durations of instruction and curricular objectives. The three languages are by and large the official language of the state, which is a regional language and the two official languages of the Union, viz., Hindi and English (when Hindi happens to be also the language of a state, the

third language is expected to be another regional language). The regional language, which is generally the language of the majority, is taught for developing communicative, cognitive and academic skills and for culture acquisition, whereas Hindi and English are taught largely for communicative purposes in interlingual situations and for instrumental purposes to enhance economic opportunities. Though the students become literate in three languages, their reading after school is mostly in the regional languages followed by English and it is almost nil in Hindi. The multilingualism enabled by the language policy in education has limitations of this kind in reality.

It may be seen that the mother tongue of linguistic minorities do not find a place in the scheme of three languages. It is not merely a question of teaching the minority mother tongue, but also using it as medium because when only the mother tongue is taught at the primary level, the medium cannot be another language. This is a source of conflict and different solutions are offered by the state to accommodate the mother tongue including a transfer model of bilingual education where the medium changes to the state language at the post primary level. The conflict of the minority mother tongue is with the state majority language, not with Hindi or English. This conflict has not yet been resolved politically and pedagogically.

The place of the minority mother tongue in education is a question where the role of the state and the role of the community have not been defined unambiguously. It is not the policy of the government that it is the responsibility of the community to establish schools for mother tongue instruction or medium with or without state support. As pointed out earlier, the minority communities do not make use of the Constitutional provision in this regard. The state may provide a place for the minority mother tongue in education not on any principle of pedagogy or human right but to meet political expediency. The minority community thus acts for mother tongue maintenance through education not under its own auspices but under the auspices of the state through political pressure in proportion to its political clout in the democratic polity.

The symbolic nature of political action by the minority community was already mentioned. At the community level, the minority mother tongue is almost restricted to the oral mode in the private domain except in cases like Urdu where linguistic identity is equated with religious identity. Its use does not extend to basic literacy functions of reading and writing even in the private domain for the purposes of pleasure and

in-group communication. For the mother tongue to be an effective part of the language repertoire, the role of the individual and the community should go beyond symbolic function to instrumental use in the private domain. Competency in the three languages of the school vastly varies qualitatively, as mentioned above, depending on the infrastructural facilities of the school and the home environment of the student. Moreover, multilingual competency is not universal, though elementary education (i.e. eight years of schooling) is compulsory, because of the high rate of drop-out to the extent of 52.8 per cent in 1993–94 (it was 78.3 per cent in 1960–61) (Government of India 1994)⁵ by the end of elementary stage after eight years of education. The role of the state for multilingual maintenance, therefore, is to effectively achieve universalization of elementary education in terms of access, achievement and retention.

Language maintenance, specifically mother tongue maintenance, is promoted, or at least protected, by the language policy in administration, civil as well as judicial. The official language of each state, as mentioned above, is generally its majority language and English continues as colonial legacy. The use of the regional language in administration increases down the line at lower levels of administration. The written communications to the public from the government are increasingly in the official language of the state even if it is not the mother tongue of their receiver. In the oral mode, minority languages are also used when their speakers are sizeable in the population of the area where the administrative unit is located. In the law courts also, the situation is similar with lower courts using more of the regional language in arguments and judgements. It is legally required that the accused in a case is served a charge sheet in a language known to him or her even if it is not the official language of the state. Unlike in public administration, commercial and industrial management of large establishments with national reach use English more. The regional languages have no economic value in this domain and this is a big deterrent against increasing their functional value.

In the domain of entertainment, a large number of languages are used in the media as mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, the high cost of media and the need for advertisement revenue to sustain it prohibit the use of languages with small population in the media, print as well as electronic. With satellite television, it is possible for a minority community to watch a programme in the mother tongue if it has majority speakers in another region where the programmes are produced and transmitted. The linguistic isolation is broken by this technology and the mother tongue is

reinforced through entertainment. This technology also provides easy access to other languages strengthening multilingual exposure and helping their acquisition. (Government controlled television in India provides subtitles in the regional languages of various states to nationally telecast movies in a regional language but not for movies in Hindi and English, this reflects the policy of the central government to create acceptance and passive competence in one of the official languages of the union, viz., Hindi through entertainment media). Because of the attractiveness of entertainment programmes in major languages due to high investment facilitated by a large market, there is a fear that the electronic media may work against the interest of minor languages. If this happens, language use in a private domain like entertainment will be affected by considerations beyond the control of the community.

Commercial considerations determine language use in the market. The languages used in the descriptions of products, instructions to use them, and promotional materials for their sale differ according to the target clientele. The luxury products marketed for the urban middle class and upper class use English and Hindi in that order and the products for mass or local consumption use the regional languages. The same is true of services also. The language choice of the market is dependent on the purchasing power of the linguistic community. To make the market choose its language, the community cannot stop at increasing its political clout but must also increase its economic clout.

In the market, use of a language is not demanded by its speakers as their right as consumers, but is decided by the producers of goods and services on the basis of their marketing plan. Language rights to be exercised by the speaker have not been embedded in other rights, such as consumer rights, right to information, etc. When this happens, people will assume agency for language use in public domains, as they do in private domains. Such agency of the people with a will to exercise these rights will enable maintenance of languages. Language rights are the rights of individuals and it is their role to demand them, to exercise them and to create an awareness about these rights among other individuals so that they are not carried away by extraneous forces like the market.

It is clear from the above that the roles of the state, the community and the individual in language maintenance are different, but are interactive. Each should play its role and make the other two play their roles. The success of language maintenance will depend less on the planned activity of the state alone and will depend more on the participatory activity of all three.

CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES TO LANGUAGE SURVIVAL

5.1 LANGUAGE DEMOGRAPHY

The people of India have reported 1,652 mother tongues (1961 Census).¹ These mother tongues as reported in the census are not languages in a grammatical sense but are tokens of group identity in a sociolinguistic sense² and include names of villages, castes, occupations, etc. Some mother tongues may be languages, some may be dialects and some may be indicators of speech variation not even having the status of a dialect. The census abstracts these mother tongues—which are themselves an abstraction arrived at after eliminating spelling variations, spurious names, etc., from the actual reported names exceeding 4,000—into languages on the basis of linguistic distinctiveness. According to this abstraction of the 1961 Census figures, there are about 200 languages in India (Government of India 1964). They belong to four language families, viz., Indo-European (fifty-four languages and 27 per cent of the languages). Dravidian (twenty and 10 per cent) Austro-Asiatic

(twenty and 10 per cent) and Sino-Tibetan (eighty-four and 42 per cent), the rest are foreign languages and unclassified languages (twenty-two and 11 per cent). They vary in population size from less than twenty-five (Andamanese) to more than 250 million (Hindi) as per the 1981 Census.

Of these languages, 101 are tribal languages belonging to the above four families (Indo-European: one, Dravidian: nine, Austro-Asiatic: nineteen and Sino-Tibetan: sixty-three, unclassified: nine) (Government of India 1964). It may be noted that all of the languages of the last two families are tribal and about half of the Dravidian languages are tribal. They vary in population size from five (Andamanese) to 3,130,829 (Santali) according to the 1961 Census and in status from being a preliterate language to being a language of state level administration and college level education like Mizo (a Sino-Tibetan language) and Khasi (an Austro-Asiatic language). The number of tribal languages is an abstraction of 304 tribal mother tongues in 1961. There are 613 tribal communities (Government of India 1978) speaking these languages.³ But not all of them have a tribal language as the mother tongue. Of the population of tribal communities (29.9 million in 1961 constituting 6.9 per cent of the total population of India), only 57 per cent speak a tribal language as mother tongue (i.e., 12.8 million). For 43 per cent of the tribals, the mother tongue has shifted to a non-tribal language, which is largely the dominant language of the region (Chapter 2).⁴

At the national level, no language is a majority language with speakers exceeding 50 per cent of the country's population and in that sense all languages in India are minority languages. At the state level, however, there are majority languages, whose population may vary from 96 per cent (Kerala) to 63 per cent (Manipur). Eighteen languages are listed in the Constitution for certain specific purposes, and, independent of these specified purposes, they benefit most from the power and resources of the state. These eighteen languages constitute 95.58 per cent of the population in 1981.⁵ There is thus a collective majority.

5.2 LANGUAGE LOSS

The causal factors for language loss are non-linguistic and are largely political and economic. They affect more languages of smaller size and

so population size of speakers of a language is one of the variables in language loss. The critical mass of population for survival of a language, however, is relative to other factors including the socio-political factors of the country. Communities differ with regard to what they consider as the core value of the culture (Smolicz 1981). Language is not the core value for all communities and the language of such communities is vulnerable to loss. The self-deprecating attitude about the community's language and culture is another factor and the extent of this attitude shows the extent of the success of the dominant community in making their perceptions and values accepted by the dominated. The extent of the success of the dominant community correlates with the extent of their political and economic power and thus the population factor also relates to political and economic factors. The power of these factors gives little option to the powerless communities and forces them to give precedence to the survival of self over the survival of their language. It gives the dominant language speaking community a sense of satisfaction that the minority community is losing its language on its own accord and free will.

This chapter does not aim at a detailed causal analysis of language loss but is restricted to consequent intermediate factors that lead to language loss. They are reduction in the status of the language, in the number of users of the language, in the domains and functions of the use of language and in the code through attrition of lexicon and grammatical features. This chapter does not attempt to illustrate each of these factors with Indian languages but tries to give a general picture of language survival in India, with particular reference to tribal languages. Not all tribal languages are endangered. Some are dominant languages in their states being the language of administration and education as mentioned earlier and they may be a threat to smaller tribal languages in their states. Mizo is an example of this. Some tribal languages have limited political power within the partial autonomous districts under their administrative control, like, for example, Bodo and Karbi in Assam and many Naga languages in Nagaland. Some tribal languages have sizeable speakers exceeding a million, for example, Bhili (4.5 million), Santali (4.2 million), Gondi (2 million), Kurukh (1.3 million) and Mundari (1.1 million), according to the 1981 Census.

5.3 STATUS REDUCTION

It was mentioned earlier that the mother tongues reported by the people in the census are subsumed under a language on the grounds of linguistic undifferentiability. It is also based on the sociolinguistic perception of language variation and the standard language. Decisions to give dialect status to a language variety are commonly, though not exclusively, made by political leaders and administrators with or without the support of linguists. Linguists are notorious about not having consensus among themselves about the dialect or language status of a speech variety. The Dravidian Irula and Kuruba in the Nilgiris in South India are an example of this indeterminacy not only about their relation with a major language but also about the relation between the two. It is interesting to note that 304 tribal mother tongues are subsumed under 101 tribal languages and 1,350 non-tribal mother tongues are subsumed under about 100 non-tribal languages.⁹ The ratio of the former is 3:1 and the latter 13:1. There are various reasons for this including the literateness of the community, where the written tradition includes many varieties of language under a standard language. It is also possible that more mother tongues are added under major languages and their population is thus enlarged adding to their dominance by those in power. In this process of dialectalization, a powerless language may lose its existence as a language. It may be true that a dialect or a mother tongue is not lost physically in this process and it may continue to be spoken at home as a variety of the standard language, but with schools and media promoting the standard, they are likely to be lost physically over generations. The sociolinguists are positively disposed to standardization and encourage it as a process of modernization of language even when they—at least some of them—may negatively view small languages getting eliminated in the process of modernization of a country. It may be true that they expect the dialect speakers to acquire the standard dialect in addition to their home dialect, like the minority language speakers becoming bilingual in the dominant language, but their concern for language loss is not equal to that for dialect loss. Nevertheless, the point to be made is that the dialectalization process is one of the means for the dominant language to consolidate its power.

The dialectalization process may even include languages in a linguistic sense, which are grammatically distinct and even have a literary tradition of their own. Hindi, for example, has absorbed languages like Maithili

and Avadhi as its mother tongue varieties. Analogous to this process, but not identical to it, is the effort to create a cover term for a number of closely or not so closely related languages to give them a larger population base, and through it a stronger political base. Creation of a Pahadi language in Himachal Pradesh and of language amalgams like Chekesang and Zeliangrong in Nagaland are examples of this. This is a strategy for political survival perceived to be needed for the survival of the community by compromising on language identities and their possible loss.

The dialect question is a challenge to the linguist concerned with language survival. He should have his professional tools sharpened to categorize a speech variety as a dialect or a language and accordingly take a position about its survival. Since population size is one of the critical variables for language survival, as mentioned above, it makes sense to encourage standardization in tribal languages, which have dialect variation according to the linguist, like Gondi and Kuvi. This view may come into conflict with the community's perception of the status of their speech. The preliterate speakers do not have notions of dialect and language—they are artefacts of linguists—and for them, there is difference in speech between them and others and the difference is important for their identity maintenance.

The linguist cannot ignore or underplay this problem. Giving a writing system to a preliterate language contributes greatly to enhancing the community's self image of their language and developing a positive attitude for its maintenance.⁷ This can be seen in the invention of a new script called Ol Chiki for Santali by a community leader and the struggle of the community to get it accepted by the state and all its people, who live in different states and practice different religions. To develop a writing system, the linguist should choose a language variety or create one from the dialects. All written languages subsume many spoken varieties under them. This is a function of the written language. The linguist must resolve the conflict between the community's and the linguist's perceptions of language difference and the professional conflict he faces between losing the dialects and saving the language.

The linguist faces another conflict with regard to the dialect. In the process of learning the dominant language, the minority community may have creolized it with the features of its own language and may consider it as its own distinct language different from the dominant language. The dominant language of the community may absorb it as a low dialect of its language. The linguist may have to decide whether the creole is still linguistically the language of the minority community or is of the

majority community. This is a problem of drawing the language boundary line when one language becomes another. From the point of view of language preservation, language boundaries must be known. Conversely, when a minority language converges with a majority language with heavy borrowing and mixing, the minority community may like to view it as their own and use it as a strategy for separate identity and survival and the linguist interested in documentation may prefer a purer form of the language and discourage convergence, which may prove to be counter to the survival of the language as perceived by the community. When a writing system is introduced and text books are prepared to introduce literacy—which may be a contributing factor for language survival—the question of purity has to be faced squarely. The community itself may be divided on this.

5.4 USER REDUCTION

The number of speakers of a language may be reduced or liquidated due to natural calamities, disease, war or a state policy of annihilation. The disease may be inflicted by contact with 'civilized' persons to whose diseases the tribal may not be immune to. The reduction in the number of Andamanese in the Andaman islands is due to disease from European and Indian settlers to whom these tribals were hospitable and due to killings in the Second World War when the Japanese occupied the islands. The other tribes like Jarawas and Sentinels are not close to extinction like Andamanese because they are hostile to outsiders and no regular contact exists. The linguist perhaps must choose between documenting their language with the possibility of increased contact and its consequences and leaving their language undocumented !

The linguist can do very little for language survival in the case of language loss through the extinction of its speakers. He can at best record the language before it loses not only its words and sentences but also narratives about the community's life experience, world view and native knowledge.

Similar to the biological extinction of the speakers of a language, but less serious, is the loss of the speakers to the 'civilized' world through migration. When they are isolated without contact with their community

and do not return to the community, they are lost to the community, thus reducing its size and making its language vulnerable.

5.5 USE REDUCTION

Reduction in the functions of a language and in the domains of its use is correlated with its reduction in status. The linguistic minorities are vulnerable to reduction in the use of their language. There are two kinds of minorities. In one kind, the majority of the speakers of a language live contiguously somewhere and a minority of its speakers live amidst another majority language community. Because of the speakers' numerical strength and perhaps also due to their power, the language is stable in its majority location, but may not be in its minority location. The threat of language loss is only in its minority location. Since the language survives at least in one place, it is not a total loss.

In the other kind, the language is in minority at the only place it is used or at every place it is used. The likelihood of total loss of language is with this kind of minority. Every state in India has both kinds of minority languages.

India is noted (Pandit 1979) for its tradition of language maintenance, particularly with regard to the first kind of minorities. It is not that no language was lost or that there was no language shift; the language shift in the tribal communities, which generally belong to the second kind of minorities, has already been mentioned. But in general both native and migrated minorities have maintained their language in limited domains like home and limited functions like community identity and networking. The reasons for general lack of loss and shift can be found in the social, economic and political structure of the country. Socially, reproduction was endogamous within a caste which spoke the same language. The role of individuals was fixed by the caste into which they were born and there was less scope for upward mobility in the caste hierarchy through acquisition of the language (and dialect) of the higher caste. Different languages did not correlate with the hierarchical order of castes. The agrarian economy in a feudal system did not have much scope for economic mobility. In the polity the ruling language was very often an

extraneous language and its political power was not combined with the numerical power of the majority.

The social, economic and political situation has changed since Independence in India. The ascribed social role and status are yielding place to acquired ones and language is one of the means of their acquisition. The industrial and urban economy induces migration in search of economic opportunities, which may demand not only competence in but also identification with certain languages. Migration also weakens the tie with the native linguistic community and fosters new material values at the cost of traditional cultural links through the native language. Education expands under the industrialized economy to a large population and it delocalizes aspirations of life in this educated population. Education—at least well-resourced education—is available in the dominant language, increasing its value. Spread of literacy, ironically, increases the chance of the loss of minor languages. The speakers of minor and minority languages do not see any economic value for their language. Their languages have a cultural value, but their culture does not have an economic value. Reorganization of the boundaries of the states after Independence along language boundaries giving each state a majority language has helped combine political and numerical power and the emergence of a local dominant language. This dominance has greater destructive potential than that of a numerically small extraterritorial dominant language for linguistic minorities. The trend of language loss is increasing as a result of these social, economic and political changes of a modernizing country. Many research studies point to this trend, particularly with reference to urban communities.

There are also developments counteracting this trend. The major development is political in nature. Before considering it, two other developments can be examined briefly. Inter-generational transmission of language is the indicator of language maintenance. Some studies point out that in cases where active acquisition and use of the language of the parents is less by the children of the next generation due to peer group pressure, there is increase in the use of the existing passive knowledge and perhaps some new acquisition as well when the children become adults, as the endogamous marriage brings in social networks requiring the use of the native language. There is then a cycle of language loss and maintenance, and language loss need not be predicted linearly in successive generations.

The younger generation, which alienates its language in search of material progress outside the community, is noted to have discovered to their dismay gate-keeping mechanisms in the path of their social and economic progress in spite of their acquiring the dominant language. This disillusion drives some of them back to their community with a different value about their native language and culture and they become leaders of the community with a position to change its course including the community's relation to its language. They are joined by the political leaders of the community who also realize that the limited political power given to them by the dominant community keeps them at a disadvantage in spite of their assimilation with it. They opt for political action based on language and ethnicity. The language thus gets a political value and this is used for the survival of the language.

Bodos in Assam were on the road to assimilation with the Assamese culturally and linguistically. The intellectuals of the community set a model by writing, including creative literature, in Assamese. Assamese was the language of high culture of the Bodos. When Assamese became the official language of the state in the fifties, it became a symbol of power from being the symbol of culture and it was perceived that non-speakers of Assamese as well as non-native speakers of it were discriminated against. The path of assimilation started to be reversed with concerted efforts for teaching Bodo in schools, for changing the script from Assamese to Roman, for codifying the language with a dictionary, etc. The political conflict led to riots and killings and was resolved by granting some political and administrative autonomy to Bodos. There are also other tribal communities where such a reversal can be observed. Such reversal occurs even in communities whose language is not threatened with extinction. Meithei (Manipuri) is the state language of Manipur and it adopted the Bengali script centuries ago, abandoning its native script as part of the 'Hinduization' of the community. Meitheis currently want to revive the native script and it is taught in schools as an additional script with governmental approval. The reversal of assimilation is not just for survival but for consolidation of power using the same strategy of maximizing the difference from the majority to make a separate political constituency.

Political mobilization around language and ethnicity is possible because the political process in India is conducive for coalition between minorities or co-option of them by a thin majority. The mobilization is for the tribal communities to get more share in the power and resources

of the state. This includes the goal of self-determination of their political status as a separate state or an autonomous unit within a state. The different tribal communities living in the mineral rich areas of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, for example, demand a tribal state called Jharkhand. Multi-ethnic political mobilization, however, is vulnerable to inter-ethnic conflict of interests, which results in denial of power to them. There is a basic conflict between the need for numerical strength and for ethnicity to gain power in such political mobilization.

The policy of the state to give favoured treatment to tribals by giving seats to them in educational institutions and jobs in the government through a system of reservation based on ethnicity gives legitimacy and value to ethnicity. Though ethnicity is not defined in terms of language by the state for this purpose—if it is done it will promote language maintenance—ethnicity and language are associated in the popular perception. Political mobilization may help language maintenance, provided the language is used instrumentally in every sphere by the community and its leaders and not merely symbolically in the political sphere alone. This kind of political response for language maintenance, it should be noted, is not available to small communities.

For the instrumental use of the tribal language, the political response should be supported by educational efforts, which ensure literacy in the tribal language along with literacy in the dominant language. While the latter increases economic opportunities, the former creates awareness about rights, gives skills in the language for enriching it and pride in the culture for practising it. The linguist could be of help in the educational efforts.

5.6 CODE REDUCTION

Reduction in the richness of the code is a result of reduction in the use of language. There has been no study of attrition of endangered languages in India.

5.7 ACTORS

Survival of minority languages requires many actors to support it at different levels. The Indian Constitution provides preservation of language and culture of minorities as a fundamental right. It also gives the right to minorities to establish educational institutions for this purpose. It directs the states to endeavour to provide education through the mother tongues of the minorities at the primary level under certain conditions (Chapter 7). But this is not implemented in full faith by the state governments. The new education policy of the central government proposes that teaching materials shall be prepared as a bridge between home and school in tribal languages whose population is above 500,000. The Universal Literacy Programme of the central government also recommends the use of smaller languages to begin literacy in them as a step towards literacy in the dominant language. These are implemented in varying degrees in different states.

There is no specific policy as such about endangered languages. There is no policy to discourage the use of any language in private domains. In public domains, the policy is to promote the majority languages. In public documentation, languages/mother tongues with less than 10,000 speakers are not taken cognisance of as mentioned earlier, and with no official acknowledgement of their existence, they are left to disappear. The political consciousness of the tribes and their languages, at least of the larger ones and the sensitive ones along international borders, can be seen in the frequent questions in the Indian Parliament by the members about the programmes of the government for tribal development including their culture and language. There is a statutory commission on scheduled tribes and scheduled castes and another on linguistic minorities to report to the Parliament about the implementation of the Constitutional provisions and governmental orders for tribal welfare. The commissions, however, do not have legal power to ensure their implementation.

Some departments of the central government and state governments, and some institutions funded by them actively work for the documentation and, to some extent, the survival of small languages and cultures. The Anthropological Survey of India does cultural and physical anthropological studies of the tribes and also studies the impact of tribal development programmes on the tribes. Indira Gandhi National Centre for

Arts documents tribal (as well as other) lore and artefacts; it also studies the epistemological basis of tribal world view. The Central Institute of Indian Languages does codification of tribal languages by creating writing systems, grammars and dictionaries, helps their use in primary education by preparing primers and training teachers and sociolinguistically studies language maintenance and patterns of communication between tribal communities as well as between tribal and non-tribal communities. It conducts experimental bilingual education programmes in tribal areas. The model is to transfer the tribal children from mother tongue education to education in the dominant language; the option to continue literacy in the tribal language is open, but not taken up due to curricular pressure and community perception about the material non-utility of mother tongue literacy. This Institute, in collaboration with universities, has taken up the recording of endangered languages in a limited way.

There are many non-governmental voluntary organizations working in a broad spectrum of areas relating to tribes from alienation of land to protection of tribal knowledge with regard to medicinal plants. Radical organizations among them have recognized that land alienation leads to language alienation through dislocation and disorientation of life of the tribes and they deal at the grass-root level with the root causes of language loss such as economic deprivation and inculcate pride in the self and a will to fight the other.

For the community action to have even minimal success it should have political as well as voluntary group support. The enabling task for this action is to create awareness of the value of the tribal culture and language, to counter the hegemonic pressure for self-deprecation of their culture and language (see Phillipson 1992 for an account of the theory and practice of language hegemony) and to educate them about the ground realities of the hurdles in the envisaged material progress through adaptation of dominant culture and language.

The linguists in universities mostly stop at the description of the tribal languages and the sociolinguistic situations they are in, thus aiding documentation. They can, even staying in the academic plane, contribute towards survival of tribal languages by developing a theory of language survival. A theory with predictive power will help plan preventive action against language loss. A theory of language survival should be integrated with a theory of language development (Cooper 1989), language vitality (McConnel 1991), reversal of language loss (Fishman 1991) and language rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994).

NOTES

The last census was in 1991 but the later figures are not taken because, after 1961, the mother tongues with population less than 10,000 are not listed and the details of mother tongues which are subsumed under a language are not given. The 1961 figures are the detailed ones (Nigam 1972). Because of this administrative and political decision, the number of languages decreased after the 1961 Census from 193 in this census to 105 in the subsequent censuses. The number of tribal languages reduced from 101 in 1961 to sixty-three in 1971 and sixty-five in 1985. Thus small languages have been made invisible administratively and politically. The number of speakers of Andamanese in 1981 given below is from personal knowledge. I am grateful to N H Itagi for checking the census data for me.

The question in the 1961 Census and the instruction given to the enumerator is to get the name of the language spoken in childhood by the person's mother to the person; if the mother had died at the infancy of the person, the language mainly spoken in the household (Nigam 1972, Preface).

This shows that the ethnic and linguistic boundaries are not coterminous and the ratio of ethnic to linguistic community is 6:1 assuming that cultural distinctiveness is not further abstracted, it is 3:1 if mother tongues (rather than languages) are compared.

According to the survey of the People of India (Singh and Manoharan 1993), there are 432 tribal communities speaking 191 mother tongues/languages. This survey does not distinguish between mother tongue and language. Of all the tribal communities, 117 are homolingual (i.e., the entire tribal community has one language, tribal or non-tribal, as mother tongue) and 315 are heterolingual (i.e., one tribal community is divided between more than one language as mother tongue). A sizeable percentage (15.73 per cent in 1961) of tribals are bilinguals (i.e., speaking another language in addition to their mother tongue).

Their population was 95.37 per cent in 1971 and 87.13 per cent in 1961. Conversely there is reduction in the population of non-constitutional (called non-scheduled) languages, 12.87 in 1961, 4.63 in 1971 and 4.42 in 1981. Increase in the population of constitutional (scheduled) languages is in disproportion to natural decennial population increase. It is not merely due to adding new languages to the Constitutional list, but is largely due to subsuming more mother tongues under the major languages. Of the mother tongues subsumed under Hindi, one has more than 100,00,000 speakers and five have each more than 10,00,000 speakers (Nigam 1972: Appendix II).

When the administrator says that a tribal language has no writing system and therefore no grammar, it is another instance of status reduction to rationalize the loss of a pre-literate language.

THE COLONIAL LANGUAGE IN MULTILINGUALISM AND THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION

6.1 MODERNITY AND TRADITION

Modernization, as a social process implementing the ideology of European Enlightenment that the society is organized on the principle of equality and freedom of individuals and that the society advances through knowledge based on reason, was experienced intensively by the Indian society from the 19th century as a result of European contact. This social process yields a modern society, which is ideologically seen to be opposed to a traditional society. The traditional society is conceptualized as being a social formation of individuals with unequal rights and differential freedom of action, and functioning based on faith and authority reinforced by mythology. Tradition in the modernization discourse is believed to antedate modernity. It is also believed to be

1972: Part 4 for this term and the process in the Indian context) in a global and neutral sense like that of modernization, any such process is compartmentalized and negativized as growth of tribalism, fundamentalism, etc.

This mutually exclusive opposition between tradition and modernity is misleading because of the presence of elements of modernity in tradition and the presence of elements of tradition in modernity. More importantly, a society may use its traditional elements to become modern rather than discarding and superseding them (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967: 3). Language is such a traditional institution for codifying and implementing the traditional ideology, which is made to become a tool of modernity by reworking its words and meanings and by redefining its role in social organization.

This chapter deals with the role of Indian languages in the societal modernization of India and the extent of modernization they underwent themselves in this role. It does not deal with the question whether all or any of the ideas defining modernity such as individualism, freedom, equality, rationality, etc., were present in Indian society before European contact in the same philosophical and socio-political sense of Enlightenment and were coded in the Indian languages. If they were, their revival in the modern period was stimulated by the encounter with Enlightenment ideology and therefore, this ideology remains important to describe modernization.

6.2 LANGUAGE AND MODERNIZATION

Language is a crucial factor in the modernization process. It is a social and cultural institution and, like other institutions of the society, it also is modernized in the process. Language modernization is crucial because other institutions of the society function through language and therefore it is indispensable for the modernization process as a whole. Moreover, the modernization discourse is located in the language and is mediated by it. When it performs the mediating role, it equips itself to be an adequate site for the discourse. Language is thus both a tool and an object of modernization.

6.3 MODERNIZING AND EVANGELIZING

The colonial perception of 18th century Indian society and the obligation felt by the colonialists to change the perceived conditions of the society are articulated in Charles Grant's tract on India called '*Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to Moral, and on the Means of Improving it*' written in 1792 after he returned to England with the fortune he made in India. The following passage from this tract (cited in McCully 1966: 11) is illustrative of the colonial agenda:

The true cure of darkness, is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders, and this remedy is proposed from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us.

Spreading European knowledge is perceived at once to be a moral and an instrumental agenda for the colonialists.

Grant became a member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company and its Chairman four times from 1806. His ideas were influential in shaping the principles of the Company's charter renewed in 1813 by the British Parliament. This new charter for the first time made education of the natives of India an obligation of the British government. The cabinet's resolution on this subject for the approval of the Parliament said that educational 'measures ought to be introduced as may tend to the introduction among them (natives) of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement' (ibid., 16 citing Parliamentary Papers).

As for Grant, the spread of Enlightenment ideas and Christian ideas were part of the same agenda for the government also and the former was needed to prepare the ground for the latter. Wilberforce, a moralist scornful of radicalism, spoke at length on the above resolution and made this connection clear. '...their (natives') minds, once enlightened, will instinctively reject the profane absurdities of their theological, and the depraving vices of their moral system. Thus they will be prepared for

the reception of Christianity' (McCully 1966: 17 citing Parliamentary Papers). Thus, as McCully (*ibid.*) concludes, 'the principle of introducing European Enlightenment (was seen) as an effective opening for the diffusion of Christianity in India'. It is no accident that the very same charter of 1813 also laid down the principle that the Christian missionaries were legally entitled to enter India in order to carry on their activities there, which was a departure from the prevailing policy of religious neutrality of the Company.

It was seen as logical, and not ironical, that the Enlightenment ideology which sought to replace faith by reason to guide human action in Europe was to prepare the ground for Christian faith in India. The agenda of modernization of the Indian society with Enlightenment ideology was inseparable to the colonial rulers from their perceived obligation to 'civilize' the Indian society with Christian knowledge. Separating these two, however, was part of negotiating the European encounter by the subjects in India.

6.4 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GOALS

Colonial education also had a political objective besides the enlightening and evangelizing objectives mentioned above. The political objective was based on the belief of submissive acceptance of the Enlightenment ideology on faith by the natives, but the process actually turned out to be one of negotiation by the Indians, which also led to the emergence of nationalism. The political objective gets sharper focus when the medium for communicating the Enlightenment ideas to the Indian people is the issue. Grant considers in his tract two possibilities, *viz.*, the medium of the native languages and the medium of English and favours the latter for many reasons, one of which is that it is an 'obvious means of assimilating' the natives with their rulers (*ibid.*: 13 citing Grant's tract). Grant concedes that the latter may not be at the exclusion of the former. The role of English in political assimilation is echoed four decades later by Charles Trevelyan, a member of the Committee of Public Instruction and brother-in-law of Thomas Macaulay, whose minutes finally and formally made the colonial government decide in favour of its financial

and administrative support for English education. He said: 'Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they (natives) become more English than Hindus, just as Roman provincials became more Roman than Gauls or Italians' (McCully 1966: 72 citing Trevelyan's book, *On the Education of the People of India*). Such assimilation through English education was to pave the way for opening the civil service in the colonial government to the upper segments of the Indian society, which would become part of the ruling class in its lower rungs and the nexus between the foreign ruler and the native masses.

This provision for recruiting the natives for civil service was provided in the Charter of the East India company when it was renewed by the British Parliament in 1833, which was also concerned about the rising administrative cost of governing India. The Select Committee of the Parliament to review the working of the company had specifically suggested that 'the most powerful stimulus would be to make a certain degree of proficiency (in English) a condition of qualification for Civil Employment' (ibid.: 62 citing Parliamentary Papers). Dissemination of Enlightenment ideas through the medium of English in education thus creates a new urban native elite which has access to wealth and power. Modernization, it may be seen, is intricately connected with the acquisition of material power and wealth. The fact that Indians tended to negotiate with English education as a means of economic advancement more than of enlightenment was viewed with alarm by the managers of the Enlightenment agenda. Lord Ellenborough exclaimed in the British Parliament: 'English means rupees?' (ibid.: 100 citing Parliamentary Papers). This alarm was shared by the missionaries also concerned with disseminating Christian knowledge, which, along with other reasons, influenced their agenda to favour education through vernaculars (ibid. 50).

Modernization of the Indian society with the ideology of Enlightenment was intertwined with the evangelical goals of the British Christendom and the political goals of the British officialdom and was mediated by the economic goals of the Indian upper class. The Indian negotiation with the British agenda of modernization was not motivated later by economic consideration of progress alone but also by the cultural consideration of identity and the political consideration of autonomy.

6.5 ROLE OF EDUCATION

We shall examine the extent to which Indian languages were the site for modernization to disseminate the Enlightenment ideology and consequently to encode the ideology in them. English as the medium of education, and therefore the medium of Enlightenment ideology, did not come into being without contest. There was from the beginning the realization that for modernizing the Indian society, the Enlightenment ideology should reach the masses and this would be possible only through the vernaculars they speak. It was also thought to be obvious that the government could not assume responsibility for mass education because of the huge cost it entailed. It was further believed that it was the class with leisure and means which would opt for and could afford modern education and that an education which did not find favour with the upper castes and class would not find acceptance with the lower castes and class. On these grounds, it was considered by the ruling elite to be practical and logical to provide modern education to the upper segments of the Indian society at government cost.

6.6 ENGLISH EDUCATION

It was believed that the values imparted in modern education would trickle down to the masses when schools for them come into being at non-governmental initiative, i.e., private and missionary initiatives, whose teachers would be drawn from those trained in European knowledge and values in government supported schools. This strategy is made clear in the report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of Bengal Presidency in 1835:

[English education] is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The natives must learn before they teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of our knowledge before they can transfer it into their own language (McCully 1966 : 76)

This process was known as Downward Filtration. Modernization of the entire Indian society through their vernaculars was expected to be achieved through this process.

6.7 VERNACULAR EDUCATION

Though there was general acceptance of this theory among the ruling elite, there were voices and actions of dissent arguing for direct vernacular education for the masses by the Indian reformers (Tripathi 1974, Hatcher 1996), missionary educationists and British administrators. The governors themselves of Madras and Bombay Presidencies were in favour of mass education through the vernaculars (McCully 1966: 27-37). The British vernacularists, in general, were critical of the Brahmin orthodoxy and the monopoly of Sanskrit education, in which they saw a parallel with Catholic orthodoxy in medieval Europe (Kopf 1969: 156). Their efforts however, did not find the support of the British government because they were not in tune with its political and administrative objectives mentioned earlier. Nor did they find favour with the people because of their utilitarian goals of modern education. The teacher training schools started by Governor Thomas Munro in Madras Presidency in 1826 were closed for lack of students (Subramanian 1994: 305). The people at the lower levels of the society did not find any use for the knowledge in the new (European) disciplines in their daily life (Shahidullah 1987: 191) and those at the upper levels did not see economic opportunities for them in the colonial society in a knowledge acquired through the vernaculars. A dispatch from the Court of Directors of East India Company to the administration in Madras made their displeasure clear.

By raising the standard of instruction among these (higher) classes, you would eventually produce much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting upon the more numerous masses. The measures for native education which have as yet been adopted or planned at your Presidency have had no tendency to produce such persons, who would be qualified for higher civil service positions (McCully 1966: 35 citing Parliamentary Papers)

6.8 CLASSICAL EDUCATION

There was another version of the Downward Filtration Theory, which argued that the classical languages of India, not English, should filter the modern knowledge to the vernaculars. The arguments in favour of classical languages were that they were rich in traditional knowledge, had the acceptability of the traditional elite and were traditionally the sources for the enrichment of vernaculars in history (Sharma 1976: 91–94 based on Adam's report to the government). Fear of change of the power equation by the policy of English education also underlaid the demand for education through classical languages. This issue known by the name of Anglicist vs Orientalist controversy was debated for two decades from 1813, when the colonial government assumed responsibility for education in India. Sanskrit played the predominant role in this controversy because Muslims, being less enthusiastic about modern education (McCully 1966: 180), did not project Persian and Arabic much to play the filtering role.

There were both British and Indian public men on both sides of the controversy. Both sides agreed that ultimately the medium of instruction and dissemination of modern knowledge should be the vernaculars. They differed on, as Charles Trevelyan put it (*ibid.*: 67), 'what language was to be the classical language in the mean time, and from what source the vernacular languages were to be enriched and improved' i.e., modernized. For the Orientalists, the traditional classical languages would absorb the modern knowledge through translation from European languages with government support and through adding modern disciplines like European philosophy and logic and English to the curriculum of oriental colleges, which taught traditional philosophy, logic, etc., and Sanskrit. This was called Theory of Engrafting (Sharma 1976: 183–84). The government provided financial support to both translation and curricular additions during the two decades of the controversy. The earlier programme supported by the government from the days of the Governor-General Warren Hastings to bring about a renaissance of the Indian society by reviving the classical (Vedic) period was replaced by this theory as a modification of it to meet the criticism from the evangelists (Kopf 1969: Chapter 10).

The Anglicists won the battle in 1835 when Governor-General William Bentinck decided, based on the minutes of Thomas Macaulay's Law

Member of the Supreme Council and Chairman of the Committee on Public Instruction, that the government funds would be used only for English education. Lack of financial incentives by way of grant and stipend and decline in jobs in courts for the students of Sanskrit as interpreters of Hindu law to the magistrates attracted less students to study Sanskrit (Sharma 1976: 105). The students studying through the 'engrafted' curriculum tended to shift to English education as early as 1837 (ibid.: 190). Engrafting of English education with Sanskrit education ended in its engulfing.

6.9 CONSOLIDATION OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

The missionary schools started increasingly to impart education through English in smaller towns as well, as they saw 'English education as the most opportune way to reach influential upper and "middling" classes among whom they hoped to find native converts who might help in carrying Christian faith to the masses' (McCully 1966: 38 based on missionary sources). In other words, the missionaries had a Downward Filtration Theory of their own for dissemination of Christian faith.

The native private educational institutions established by the native public men and associations had the objective of including native religious texts in the curriculum and of providing an alternative to the students against missionary schools, which taught Christian scriptures and against government schools, which had no religious content in the curriculum. In order not to compromise the material advantages associated with English, these schools also had English medium. In all sectors, English became the dominant language of education and therefore dominant medium of modernization through education by the middle of the 19th century (ibid.: 129), i.e., in a period of forty years from the acceptance of the policy of public education by the colonial government in India.

When the Charter of the East India Company came for renewal in 1853, spread of European knowledge came to be associated with material improvement, and not just with moral improvement, in the government. A need was perceived to upgrade the labour force in India to provide skilled labour and products for the British industries and to enlarge the

Indian market for the British goods. It was realized that mass education in modern knowledge (frequently termed useful knowledge) was necessary for this purpose, but Downward Filtration was not taking effect. The bill piloted in the British Parliament by Charles Wood, President of Board of Control of the Company provided for involving the government directly in mass education through vernaculars (it also provided for university education and greater government control of education). This provision, however, was revised in 1857 after the rebellion in the army and the government reverted to the earlier policy of English education to a few (McCully 1966: 138, 142). The vernacular education was also not received well by the native elite (Subramanian 1994: 314 based on a report by the Secretary of State investigating the educational causes of the rebellion)

The theory of Downward Filtration was actually turned on its head in practice from the beginning of the English education policy of the colonial government. To enable the school students to get admission into secondary schools and colleges with English medium by bridging the curricular and linguistic gap between them and the vernacular schools, there was increasing pressure on the latter to prefer English medium beginning as early as the 1830s. London Missionary Society changed its policy of vernacular education to start English medium elementary schools in Bengal (McCully 1966: 45). This pull of English from above continued. When three universities were established in 1857, the students were required to pass, in the name of standardization, an entrance examination in English, a classical language, a vernacular and some subjects in English medium (ibid: 168). This made English education in schools appropriate for going into higher education. English medium due to this pressure from above percolated down to more schools even in outlying regions at the expense of vernacular schools. Consequently, education became a less effective means for Enlightenment ideology to be mediated by the Indian languages.

6.10 TEXT BOOKS IN VERNACULARS

When implementing the policy of English education in 1835, the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal proposed to encourage

translation from English into the vernacular and to award prizes for the translations by the English medium students done after their final examination (McCully 1966: 76). There is no information on the outcome of this proposal. Many language text books were published for teaching vernaculars after 1800 when the college of Fort William was founded in Calcutta (the college of Fort St. George was founded in Madras in 1812 for the same purpose) to give cultural orientation and language skills to the civil service officers from Britain. Later, text book publishing was taken over by the Department of Public Instruction in the government. It was done in Madras from 1854 to 1889, by which time many individuals had started publishing text books in vernaculars. Text book publishing by then was to meet the needs of vernacular teaching in schools including English medium schools. The text books were commercially a very successful enterprise. Their content, however, was largely prose rendering of traditional literary and oral texts. There was, however, some translation from English as well as Sanskrit. The text books and other educational books in the vernaculars published by the Serampore Mission in Bengal to train preachers in their and other Christian missions in different parts of India had religious content in them.¹ Content analysis of early school level language text books in Indian languages is yet to be done to have a definite view on their role in modernization. There were School Book Societies in all Presidencies (in Calcutta it was established in 1817 and in Madras in 1820) to publish text books for schools in different subjects in Indian languages for use in vernacular schools. They published a good number of text books in science for about a decade since their inception until early 1830s when English education got official sanction and patronage (Kopf 1969: 185–86). With the low popularity of vernacular schools, when modern education spread and with the vernacular text books mostly restricted to the primary level, the text books were of less use for the purpose of deliberating modern ideas in the Indian languages. To that extent, the vernacular text books of modern knowledge had a limited role in the modernization of Indian languages.

The Indian languages became the medium of instruction in secondary education substantially during the diarchy for sixteen years from 1921 when there was power sharing in the government with Indian political parties. The medium change was implemented to have downward expansion of modern education by the Indian ministers who were in charge of education. Though English medium continued for reasons similar to the ones mentioned above, 'by the year 1937, the question of medium of instruction at the secondary stage had already ceased to exist as a *problem*'

(Nurullah and Naik 1951: 652).² The problem had been more psychological than pedagogical or linguistic. The Indian languages had become capable of playing the new role of medium of new disciplines at the school level by that time. Modernization of Indian society had gone a long way in the early decades of the 20th century and the Indian languages came in late as a tool for societal modernization through education. They, nevertheless, helped the downward expansion of modern ideology across the population, and became an additional site for encoding that ideology along with the media. Since nationalism had become a strong ideological force by then, the nationalist ideology, which included reinterpreted tradition, was also interwoven in the encoding of modernity in Indian languages.

6.11 PRIVATE PUBLICATIONS

The Enlightenment ideas were getting into Indian languages by other means than direct education and text books. Some of the Indians who had English education published in Indian languages the European knowledge and ideology they had acquired in colleges. The publications were translations from English as well as originally written expositions of the new ideas supporting, refuting or applying them to the Indian situation as they saw fit. Though printing technology had been introduced to Indian languages by the missionaries in the second half of the 16th century (Kesavan 1985: 13), it was in the control of the missions and the government until 1835 when the colonial government lifted the ban on ownership of printing press by the natives.³ This increased the publication of books and journals in Indian languages and diversified their content. The impact of this freedom of control and diversification of content is visible in the second half of the 19th century. Some Indian languages began from this period to be a medium for the Enlightenment ideology. According to a present day evaluation (Chatterjee 1966: 15), the journal *Tattvabodhini Patrika* started in 1843 in Calcutta 'could be said to have founded modern discourse of science and rational philosophy' in Bengali. Another journal *Bangadarshan* started by Bankim Chandra in 1872 had the stated objective of using Bengali language in the intellectual life of Bengal and

held the belief that Bengali language could not be modernized without being stimulated by Western knowledge (Kesavan 1985. 224).

6.12 NATURE OF THE CONTENT

The publications in Indian languages were not about Enlightenment ideology alone. The Christian missionaries, who had started printed publication in Indian languages much earlier, continued to publish their religious literature. The branch of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was established in Madras in 1815 and the Madras Religious Tract Society in 1818. Besides books, they published and distributed free hand bills for religious propagation. The Hindus and, to a limited extent, the Muslims followed the Christians to use the new medium to propagate their religions. The large number of text books published were written by authors of different ideologies, modern, traditional, and religious. Publications on religious themes actually outnumbered publications on other subjects in the early period of publication in Indian languages. John Murdoch, a seminary teacher in South India and Sri Lanka compiled a catalogue of books printed in Tamil up to the year 1865 (Shanmukham 1968). This was compiled for the Christian Vernacular Education Society of India to acquaint it with publications in Indian languages in order to assess the needs of its publications. Murdoch made a subject classification of the 1,755 titles in the catalogue in his introduction. 1,218 titles were on religion constituting 69.4 per cent of the total publications. They break up religion-wise like this: Christianity-674 titles, Hinduism-508 titles and Islam-thirty-six titles. Books on Hinduism were a close second to books on Christianity. The titles on other subjects, according to Murdoch's classification, were: Philosophy (forty-eight titles), Logic (two), Jurisprudence (nineteen), Natural Science (fourteen), Medical Science (forty-four), Arithmetic (four), Geography (six) and History (six). They number 143 constituting a mere 8 per cent. The rest of the titles were on Arts (six titles), Language and Education, including primers and other text books, grammars and dictionaries, (210) and Literature (152). The catalogue includes periodicals (seventeen) and newspapers (nine). The periodicals included religious ones also. The titles on other subjects included traditional works like books on Hindu law under Jurisprudence,

books on traditional medical systems and practices under Medical Science. The literary works included old versified literature including didactic poems printed from palm leaf manuscripts. Modern literary works, particularly the fiction in prose, which espoused modern ideas through the author's narrative and as characters' dialogue and were an important medium for the deliberation of modern ideas, came out only from the second half of the 19th century. The catalogue shows that publications on modern knowledge were infinitely small in Tamil in the first half of the 19th century. Details of publications and the nature of prose writings in the 19th century can be seen in the Tamil books by Venkataswamy (1962) and Paramasivanandam (1966).

Murdoch gives a comparison of the publications in Tamil with Bengali in the introduction to his catalogue. In Bengali also, of the 1,424 titles published in the fifty years before 1855, the religious publications (514 titles) outnumbered those in other subjects (121 titles). The titles of Language, Education i.e., text books etc., and Literature were 770 far exceeding Tamil; the periodicals and newspapers were nineteen. Murdoch, however, points out a significant difference between the two languages Bengali in the first half of the 19th century has more books (nine titles) on social issues like education of girls, polygamy and widow remarriage than Tamil (one title). See also Roy (1995: 39, 40) for Bengali publications from 1801 to 1852, according to which the publications for the period 1844–52 that exceed 10 per cent are on scriptures/mythologies (16.78 per cent), Vedic/Vedantic (10.67 per cent) and Christian (10.55). The point made by Murdoch brings out the fact that there were differences in the rate and extent of mediation of Indian languages in the modernization process, as there were regional differences in the rate and extent of the spread of English education in India. These differences may have had an effect on the mode of modernization in different Indian languages. It may be noted here that Indian languages like Bengali were a source partially for modern ideas to spread through translation, particularly fiction, to some other Indian languages in the 20th century.

The proportion of publications relating to modern knowledge changes in Tamil in the second half of the 19th century. The catalogue of publications for the period subsequent to Murdoch from 1867 to 1900 (Shanmukham 1961–65)⁴ lists 8,578 titles of which 2,407 (28 per cent) are religious (873 on Christianity, 1,305 on Hinduism and 213 on Islam), 1,176 (13.7 per cent) are on Language and Education (a large majority of them are text books, grammars and dictionaries) and 3,850 (44.9 per cent) are on Arts and Li (only 616 titles are fictional prose including

prose rendering of old epics; a large majority are old literature in verse including religious poetry; 1,115 titles are minor poetry—*prabandhas*—praising gods, kings and chieftains; 207 titles are roughly folk literature other than folk drama; 241 titles are of drama). The publications on Arts and Literature suggest active publication of literature existing in palm leaves and in oral mode contributing to Tamil cultural revivalism. The 'science' titles numbering 1,145 (13.4 per cent), though they include traditional medical systems and practices under Medicine (261 titles), pilgrimage under Travel (188 titles) and life stories of Christian and Hindu religious figures and traditional poets under Biography (165 titles), can be taken as indicators of publications relating to modern ideas. Text books under Language and Education also include science and secular text books. There is an enormous increase in publications relating to modern knowledge in proportion to publications on religion and traditional literature, when compared to the first half of the 19th century. It can be said that during this period Tamil starts to mediate modern knowledge.

It may be noted that the new technology of printing, while contributing enormously to the modernization of form and function of Indian languages in terms of development of prose with new styles of writing, increased the comprehensibility and reach of the language and also contributed, as far as the content was concerned, to disseminating faith simultaneously with reason. This suggests that the Indian languages had to deal with the pull in the other direction during their process of modernization. The effects of the dual process will be seen later in the lexical and semantic analysis of modern Tamil.

6.13 THE SPOKEN WORD

The written word was not the only site to deliberate modern ideas. The spoken word also played an important role. After one generation of a few Indians going through English education, one can see the formation of associations or societies manifesting the emergence of an incipient civil society. These societies were a forum for lecturing and debating on the issues of the time and they also deliberated on the modern ideas in

the Indian languages. *Tattvabodhini Sabha*, established in Calcutta in 1839, according to Chatterjee (1996: 15),

was the first learned society to pose squarely the problem of propagating a knowledge that was both modern and rational. It conducted its affairs exclusively in Bengali.... Its journal *Tattvabodhini Patrika* could be said to have founded the modern discourse of science and rational philosophy in that language.

Other important contemporary societies among the dozen or so learned societies functioning in Calcutta were the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge (founded in 1838), the Bethune Society (founded in 1851) and the Bengal Social Science Association (founded in 1867) (Chatterjee 1996: 12). These societies differed in their ideological mix of Western rationalism, Indian nationalism and Hindu revivalism. The Enlightenment ideology was received and deliberated differently by the different societies.

Besides the learned lectures and debates in these gatherings of the new intelligentsia, social and public activists gave public lectures taking the modern ideas to the general population in a language intelligible to them. They helped to express the modern knowledge and ideas in the popular idiom. The books, periodicals and lectures, which were in the private or unorganized domain, did more for the Indian languages to mediate the modern ideology than the education in the public or institutionalized domain by initiating the process of their modernization. Due to the failure of education in vernaculars, language modernization was not concurrent with societal modernization in India.

6.14 LEXICAL RESOURCES

One of the problems to the present day for the Indian languages to encode modern ideology pertains to development of vocabulary for it from whatever source, which is assimilated into the language. One main issue was, as in the Anglicist vs Orientalist controversy, whether the source language to make the vocabulary from should be English or Sanskrit. The third source was the vernaculars themselves by combining their words and

extending their meanings. There was no unanimity of views on this. The modernists took different positions correlating with their ideological position about rationalism, revivalism and nationalism. English did not win in term creation totally as it did in medium of education. Sanskrit won largely enabling the traditional resource to be used for ideational modernization.⁵ All three modes of encoding the modern ideas were, however, operative in different degrees and in different styles. To give an example from Tamil, three words, viz., *cooSiyalicam*, *camatarmam* and *potunalak kuuTTu* were taken respectively from English, Sanskrit and Tamil, these words were used in different styles (the last one is the creation of Madras University's English-Tamil Dictionary)

6 15 MANIFESTATION OF MODERN IDEAS

The important question, however, is not about the ideological genesis and the genetic origin of the words that were created to express the modern ideas, but about how the ideas themselves came to be manifested in the Indian languages and how they relate to the ideas pre-existing in them. Languages and their speakers are not mere sponges to absorb ideas they come into contact with, as they also shape them into their system. Vernacularization of the modern ideas, to borrow the term from Hatcher (1996), has more than one manifestation. Sen (1997) points out that Hatcher mentions three manifestations indiscriminately, but they could be conceived to be distinct. The modern ideas can be viewed as an affiliation to the Indian language, an appropriation by it, or a creation in it. The first manifestation can be said to involve a process of annexation in which the modern ideas become an adjunct to the traditional ones. Annexation means that both are not integrated systemically and they exist as parallel systems. They normally exist in mutually exclusive domains. The second manifestation involves a process of assimilation in which the modern ideas, totally or selectively, are integrated into the traditional system of meanings by extension, modification or replacement. The third manifestation involves a process of convergence in which, totally or partially, the modern and traditional ideas interact to create new meanings by hybridization. Another possibility of certain modern ideas being

ignored in the Indian languages is difficult to consider because of the methodological difficulty of distinguishing between the ideas that did not come into contact and those that were known but ignored.

Chatterjee (1996: 22) suggests that the modernization of the Indian society with regard to disciplining knowledge attests manifestations similar to the above, which are contingent on the specific power and agency of the European contact. His illustrations are:

ayurveda and yunani now flourish as parallel 'disciplined' forms of medicine, whereas 'Hindu chemistry' was virtually stillborn, and the canonical principles of the novel in India remain explicitly European, whereas those of music, both classical and popular, have been successfully 'disciplined' into modern and yet recognizably Indian

European medicine is an instance of annexation to the traditional medicines and their parallel existence is with a vast difference in their status and value. The second in Chatterjee's outcomes is a case of reconstruction in the tradition of an idea to match the equivalent modern idea, but becomes defunct. I have excluded from this chapter, as mentioned in the beginning, any imaginary or real construction of modern ideas from the tradition. The third one is an instance of total appropriation, the assimilation is total that the novel is a creative and popular form of literature in modern Indian languages and the old epic is recreated in new forms. The fourth one is an instance of creation of a new form by cross fertilization.

6.16 AFFILIATION

The three kinds of manifestation of European knowledge and ideas described above in the Indian languages can be illustrated as described above. When new disciplines of knowledge came to be practised in India, thousands of new technical terms were created in Indian languages for modern objects, concepts and methods. When comparable disciplines of knowledge existed in the tradition, the technical terms in vogue in them were not adapted in the new disciplines, but new ones rooted in the conceptual framework of European sciences were created by the practitioners

of the modern knowledge. Some pre-existing areas of knowledge include farming, fishing, weaving, health care, constructing, carpenting and designing. Their traditional practitioners have hundreds of technical terms in active use in the Indian languages. The agricultural and fishery scientists, textile technologists, medical practitioners, civil engineers and designers, who acquired the knowledge of these areas through English education, have created a parallel set of technical terms, which are inter-translatable with the terms in European languages. These terms are used in subject text books in formal education and also in non-formal education materials meant for the practitioners of the disciplines in their traditional form with the aim to modernize their thinking and working. Two sets of conceptually different technical terms continue to coexist parallelly and they differ in power and prestige.

In the higher level of science (in its broad sense to include social and human disciplines), a large number of technical terms were and are created by experts and their committees and they have been stored away in glossaries. They do not find a place in higher class rooms and research laboratories because English is the medium of higher level teaching and research. The modern technical terms remain an appendix to Indian languages without being integrated into their linguistic system. This instantiates a peripherally grafted modernization without the Indian languages being used at all to mediate the ideas in modern science. The concepts of modern science are encoded in words, but not expressed in the language, as far as the Indian languages are concerned.

6.17 APPROPRIATION

The higher science texts in Indian languages, to the extent they exist, have appropriated the lexical formation, syntactic construction and textual structure of European languages, particularly English. This feature of inter-translatability between European languages and Indian languages, which has been proposed to be a parameter to measure modernization of a language (Ferguson 1968; Fishman 1974), is a result of creating the science texts through translation. It is not only translation of texts but also 'translation' of the thought pattern of the European way of representing the ideas of science. Therefore, the 'original' science writings in

Indian languages also have the lexical, syntactic and textual structure of European languages. This reduces the comprehensibility of science texts in Indian languages for monolingual readers. One needs bilingual competence in English and the Indian language concerned to comprehend them. This suggests that the modern science discourse has not blended with the expressive system of the Indian languages. The absence of practising science in them, as mentioned above, prevents the 'imported' discourse form from spreading down and standardizing.

This makes science communication to the general population difficult and the popular science texts in Indian languages improve comprehension, risking precision. Though both are instances of appropriation of European models, there is a huge difference in comprehensibility between the texts of modern science and modern fiction in Indian languages. This can be seen when one compares a text of literary criticism with a text of fiction. This indicates that science discourse has not been naturalized in Indian languages as fictional discourse has been. It is a result of higher science being outside the purview of Indian languages institutionally. Modernization of Indian languages is restricted to the extent of this kind of gate-keeping.

6.18 NATURALIZED APPROPRIATION

The situation differs when one moves out of the domains controlled by the intellectual elite like science and law. Modern political, social and cultural institutions have been internalized by Indian polity and society. Their ideology has been mediated through Indian languages and has been encoded in them. Words of modern ideas in these domains as well as their discourse do not have the problem of naturalization mentioned above. The appropriated modern ideology in them is well integrated into the Indian languages. A few examples from Tamil will show this. The secular and rational ideology is manifested lexically and semantically in common Tamil in many ways such as expansion of secular and intellectual vocabulary and emergence of objective style of expression in the ordinary language. Words referring to service castes and castes of craftsmen have changed to occupational words with no connotation of traditional ritual status. This reflects the ongoing change from the traditional

cognition of caste in terms of ritual hierarchy to the modern one of materially competing groups and also the change from taking one's occupation by birth to by choice. The fact that the occupational names are used particularly in the context of associations or unions to protect group interests indicates a change in the castes towards playing by the rules of a class society rather than the rules of a caste society. It does not mean that the caste has been replaced by class, but it means that the caste has acquired a new meaning. Many caste associations formed in the 19th century to improve their ritual status transformed themselves in the 20th century to become instruments for the improvement of their educational and employment opportunities, and political power. *Naavitan* 'a caste name of barber' changes to **muTiturutuvoon* 'hairdresser', *vaNNaan* 'a caste name for washerman' to **calavai toZilaaLi* 'launderer' (literally 'laundering labourer') and *aacaari* 'a caste name for goldsmith' to *poRkollar* 'goldsmith' (this word is from classical literature giving evidence that tradition comes to the aid of modernization).

The use of honorific pronouns (*nii* 'tu', *nīngaL* 'vous', *avan* 'he' [impolite], *avar* 'he' [polite]) is increasingly determined by the age and economic status of the addressee and the referent rather than by their ritual and social status. A sacred word *caami* 'god' as a term of address to a superior has given place to **saar* 'sir' in non-feudal settings. Words denoting natural phenomena have come to refer to technological inventions. *min* 'shine' in *minnal* 'lightning' is used to make *mincaaram* 'electricity' (Annamalai 1995). Coding a person's identity and relating oneself to others by their acquired quality rather than the ascribed, and extending the supernatural to the man made are indicative of secular and rational change in the language. They give evidence of naturalized appropriation of modern ideology.⁶

6.19 LIMITATION OF DICTIONARIES

Appropriation is even more naturalized when modern ideas are manifested through extension and shift of meanings of existing words. The following illustrations of this are based on semantic information in dictionaries. Meanings given to selected words in Tamil Lexicon (TL) published in 1936 (the work started in 1912) are compared with the meanings

given in Winslow's *A Comprehensive Tamil-English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil* (WD) first published in 1862 and also checked for labels like modern or date of citation to ascertain their emergence in the 19th century or later. They are also compared with meanings in Crea's *Dictionary of Contemporary Tamil* (CTD) published in 1992. There are some limitations to this comparison to locate semantic development. Since none of these dictionaries are specific to the 19th century and the *Febricus Dictionary* (1799) that precedes this period is limited in scope and is inaccessible,⁷ it is not possible to date the semantic development. The coverage of prose writings of that century in TL is not comprehensive. CTD is based on texts written in the second half of the 20th century, and the meanings that are current in the present century are covered (15,875 entries). With no citation of authentication in it, it is not possible to say whether a particular meaning emerged in the last century or in the present century, if one wants to know how early a particular instance of modernization took place. Because of these limitations the tracing of semantic developments must be taken as interpretations of dictionary entries supported by the native speaker's knowledge of the language and not as empirical descriptions.

6 20 GENERAL SEMANTIC SHIFTS

The following are the general semantic developments relating to modernization, which affect not the meanings of isolated words but of a set of words. The semantic development indicates replacement of traditional meanings with modern ones and addition of modern meanings, which coexist with the traditional ones. First, lexical and semantic distinctions begin to mark the dichotomy between knowledge based on faith and imagination and that based on reason and analysis. That is, knowledge represented in mythology and represented in science or between subjective construction of reality and objective construction of it are differentiated. Second, meanings necessary for experimental analysis of the objective world emerge in the words used for speculative analysis. The emergence of such words and meanings has been called intellectualization of language and, being a modern mode of intellectual deliberation, it is taken to be an indicator of modernization (Garvin 1973) Third, sacred

meanings become secular. That is, meanings associated with religious institutions, beliefs and practices get the meanings associated with temporal institutions, beliefs and practices. Secularization of a language is taken to be an indicator of its modernization (Alisjahbana 1967). Fourth, meanings having reference to a political system based on royalty acquire reference to a system based on representation (of a foreign power or native people). Related to this is the shift of meanings from referring to a feudal economic and social system to an industrial one. All these developments are interrelated and so more than one of them can be seen in a particular instance.

6 21 KNOWLEDGE CATEGORIZATION

I shall start with some illustrations in modern Tamil that indicate change towards expressing the European dichotomy of two modes of knowledge construction. In Tamil, *puraaNam* meant any narrative, whether mythological, fictional or factual. This word in *tiruvilaiyaaTal puraaNam* (17th century) refers to mythological stories about the God Shiva, in *periyaa puraaNam* (12th century) to a part mythological and a part factual account of the lives of Saivite saints and in *kaantii puraaNam* (1923) to a part fictional and a part factual account of the life of Gandhi. This undifferentiated meaning of the word has now come to mean only a mythological narrative and to have the negative connotation of being superstitious and false. It is an alternative word in modern Tamil for myth, the other word being the newly created **tonnam*, which is derived from the root *tol* 'ancient'. For the fictional narrative, the modern word is **naaval* 'novel' borrowed from English and alternatively, **putnam* created from the root *putu* 'new'.

Carittiram was any description of happenings, whether subjectively perceived or objectively analysed. The first aspect of the meaning of this word is reflected when the word refers to what is called biography in English as in the book by U.V. Saminatha Aiyar *en carittiram 'Description of Self's Life'* (1950), which is an autobiography in the modern terminology. This word refers to a description which is partly real and partly imaginary in *nantan carittiram 'Description of the Life of Nandan, a Saivite Devotee of Low Caste'* (1882). It refers to a description which is

totally imaginary and fictional in *pirataapamutaliyaar carittiram* 'Story of Prataba Mudaliar', which is the first novel written in 1879. It refers to reconstructed description of factual happenings in *ulaka carittira maalai* 'Garland of the Story of the World' (1830) and in *kiLaiy carittiram* 'Story of Clive, a British Governor' (1871), which are history and biography respectively in the modern terminology. The sense distinctions between what are called biography, fiction and history are analytical distinctions based on the modern ideology of knowledge, but the word *carittiram* had an undifferentiated meaning (which is more congenial to the postmodern ideology of narrative and this questions the view of universal, unidirectional, linear progression of the creation of knowledge, in which modernity follows tradition). In modern Tamil, *carittiram* or its pure Tamil equivalent *varalaaRu* 'the path of coming', has come to refer in ordinary use only to history as a factual description based on objective analysis. It also covers biography of self or another person (cf the modern word for biography **vaaZkkai varalaaRu* 'description of life') meant to be an objective and factual description of a life. The earlier undifferentiated meaning of *puraaNam* can be seen in its near synonymous meaning with *carittiram* (or its lexical alternate *caritam*) in the modern word **cuya puraaNam* 'narration about self (with a negative connotation of exaggeration of and obsession with self)' in relation to **cuya caritam* 'description of self (i e., autobiography)'.

Caastiram was any treatise whether it was based on faith and belief like treatises of rituals, moral codes (*niiti caastiram*) and astrological predictions (*jootiTa caastiram*) or based on analysis and observed facts like treatises of politics and economics (*artta caastiram*). The word refers to a treatise based on both kinds in *kaama caastiram* 'treatise on sex'. This word is used for a book on modern science in the beginning of the modern period as in *puumi caastiram* 'Treatise on Earth, i.e., Geography' (1832). The distinction made on the assumed difference in the kinds of knowledge and their dichotomy is reflected in the titles of later books following the modern way of disciplining knowledge. The meaning of *caastiram* in everyday use in modern Tamil is restricted to 'rituals and moral codes' codified in an ancient treatise or as oral prescriptions for practice. The current word for a branch of modern knowledge constructed from objective facts by reasoning is *vinynjaanam* 'true knowledge' or its pure Tamil equivalent *aRiviyal* 'field of knowledge'. This modern sense is kept out of the meaning of *caastiram* and thus part of the knowledge systems covered by this word is not considered to be a branch of knowledge at all, which has become a short term for 'scientific knowledge'.

The differentiation between modern and traditional knowledge becomes blurred in the continued use of *jootiTa caastiram* 'astrology' for someone who believes that its knowledge base is empirical and so, scientific. The fact that a treatise on contemporary ethics can be neither called *caastiram* nor *vinjnjaanam* in modern Tamil shows further restriction in the meaning of the latter word to knowledge based on objective fact alone excluding any knowledge reasoned differently.

6.22 PRIVILEGING OBJECTIVE KNOWLEDGE

The second kind of semantic development mentioned above, viz., increase in words and meanings referring to the modern intellectual activities is, in the case of Indian languages, the shift from the religious to the scientific domain and from speculative to objective knowledge. Intellectual activities pre-existed European contact in Indian languages. The nature of these activities changed after the contact. The change is also partly a result of knowledge differentiation mentioned above, which contrasted, for example, rational philosophy with religious philosophy and logical knowledge with mystical knowledge, and made such pairs of knowledge divisions mutually exclusive. This modern ideology of differentiating knowledge brought into Tamil the shift of meaning from the religious to the secular. *Vinjnjaanam*, which now means modern science, had three senses according to TL all of which were religious: true knowledge (of metaphysics), faculty of consciousness (in Buddhist philosophy), ultimate knowledge of the Supreme (in Saivite philosophy). The word has lost these religious meanings and its synonym *meynjaanam* is exclusively used for the religious meaning of 'metaphysical knowledge'. Both this word and *vinjnjaanam* 'science' etymologically mean 'true knowledge' without any specification of knowledge domain. The semantic development is to differentiate these two synonymous words into contrasting meanings as per modern ideology in a religious-secular axis.

Another example of similar semantic development is the following *koLkai*, out of the nine senses given in TL, had two religious senses, viz., 'tenet, doctrine (of a religious sect)', 'observance (of a religious vow)' and one feudal sense 'opinion, principles (of people of higher birth)'. Its meanings in modern Tamil are 'thesis, hypothesis (in a

scientific enquiry) and 'policy, doctrines, ideology (of a political party or government)', which are not found in the nine old senses of the word. The shift is from religious and feudal to scientific and civil. Another word *matam* which meant 'religious tenet' and 'thesis of a logical or grammatical school of thought' now means only 'religion'. Again, semantic differentiation based on modern ideology assigns the synonyms to different knowledge domains as per modern ideology. Since *aRivu* 'knowledge' continues to be used for all kinds of knowledge as in *camaya aRivu* 'religious knowledge', a new word has been created for scientific or rational thinking, viz., *pakuttaRivu* 'discriminating (rational) thinking'.

6.23 SACRED TO SECULAR

Semantic development from the religious to the secular is found also in domains other than knowledge. Religious meaning often coexisted with feudal meaning earlier and this also changed to secular meaning in the modern period. For example, *kaTan* meant 'duty, obligation to god, state' (i.e., kingship). Its lexical alternate *kaTamai* now means 'duty, obligation to (modern) state, work, kin, cultural institutions like language'. The sense of duty or obligation to god is lost and the feudal sense is extended to various components of the civil society. Another significant development in the meaning of this word is that duty and obligation become mutually binding of the giver and the receiver, when god as receiver is dropped from the meaning. In modern Tamil, *kaTamai* means duty and obligation of the citizen to the state and the state to the citizen. This reflects the mutual relation between the state and its citizens in the modern ideology.

There are other words showing the shift from the religious and feudal to the civil meaning. For instance, *viNNappam* had two senses: 'supplication (to god)' and 'respectful representation (to superiors)'. The modern meanings are: 'petition (of grievance)' and 'application (for a position in an institution)'. The sense relating to god is lost. Petition is the only sense given in WD, which did not have access to all old literature at the time of its compilation and TL gives the usage label modern to this

The word *paNi* is given thirteen senses in TL of which two, viz., 'service to deity' and 'service, work' are relevant to our discussion. There is no distinctive sense of religious service or work in this word in modern Tamil and the meaning is neutral to the domain, which includes the religious domain as well: *aracup paNi* 'government service', *naaTTup paNi* 'service to country', *tamizp paNi* 'service to Tamil', *teyvap paNi* 'service to god', etc. Its synonym *ceevai* 'contribution to betterment, public service' retains restrictively its religious sense 'service to god, worship'. The semantic development of another synonymous word is different. This synonym *toNTu* had only religious and feudal senses, viz., 'devotion to deity' and 'slavery'. Both senses in modern Tamil have changed to 'service (to a public cause)'. Words derivationally related to this word also show the same semantic development from sacred to secular: *toNTar* from 'slaves, devotees' to 'workers' volunteers (to a public cause)', *toNTaaTu* from 'serve god' to 'serve (a public cause, a political party)' in its modern cognate **toNTaaRRu*. The sacred sense remains only in compounds with a differentiating modifier meaning 'sacred': *tirttoNTar* 'sacred workers, i.e., devotees'; *tiruppaNi* 'sacred work i.e., work related to temple or god'.

6 24 SHIFT TO CIVIL MEANINGS

The fourth semantic development is the shift of regal and feudal meanings to modern political and civil meanings. The set of words relating to a polity based on kingship have shifted their meanings to a polity with a colonial government and later with a national government. Illustrative examples are the following. From *aracu* 'kingdom' and its derivative *araciyaI* 'requisites of regal administration', the meanings have shifted to refer to modern 'government' and 'politics' respectively. The same development may be noted in the network of related words in *aracaan-kam* from 'regal administration' to modern 'government'; in *aracaatci* 'regal rule' to modern 'governance', and from *amaiccar* or *mantiri* 'minister advising and executing regal orders' to 'executive head of a department of a government' of the modern period. New words were not created when the political system changed in the modern period, but the old

meanings were transferred to the new system. Unlike the cases of synonym split described with reference to shift of sacred meanings to the secular, the same words are used to refer historically to the earlier political system also. The words are polysemous with both meanings.

A related semantic development is the shift from meanings representing the feudal economic system and its political institutions to meanings representing the industrialized economy and its political institutions. The traditional meanings have been replaced with the modern. For example, *kuTimakkaL* meant 'slaves' and 'people of service castes' (the first word *kuTi* of this compound also meant 'agricultural tenant'). It now has the meaning of 'citizens, subjects (of a country)'. This is a good example illustrating a semantic shift, which is based on the idea of freedom of choice and equality of individuals which underlie the ideology of the modern political system. Other examples are the following—*cutantiram* had the meaning 'hereditary right, inheritance right' (a compound derived from this makes this meaning pronounced: *cutantira kaaNi* 'hereditary tenement, property held in absolute ownership'). Its modern meanings are 'independence, freedom (from control)' and 'liberty, right (to act)'. This semantic shift is illuminating as it is from the right of the owner and lack of freedom of the owned to the rights and freedom for all independent of ownership. This reflects the political change of the modern period in removing feudal control of property and the person and the ideology underlying it. The word *cutantiram* had another sense, which was religious. 'liberation (of soul) from the bondage of the world'. The modern political sense of this word described above is motivated by this sense of the word, but the religious sense is lost. Similar development is observed in a synonymous word *viTutalai*, which meant 'release (from confinement, suffering)', which is applicable to the religious context to mean 'liberation, release from worldly bindings'. This contextual sense is now lost and the word has only the modern secular sense 'freedom (from foreign rule, prison, cage)'.

6 25 EXPRESSION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Another example of semantic shift to remove the privileged position of the owner of the property and power and to extend it equally to any indi

vidual is *urimai*. TL gives eleven senses to this word of which the ones relevant to the discussion are 'ownership, proprietorship; that which is owned; claim for right of ownership and privilege from intimate relationship'. The shift in modern Tamil is to extend the right of ownership of, claim to and privilege from property to natural rights equally held by all. The natural rights are extended universally to a democratic political system to include speaking (**peeccurimai* 'freedom of speech'), writing (**eZutturimai* 'freedom of writing'), voting (*vaakkurimai* 'right to vote', TL labels this sense as modern), etc. The loss of the sense of denial of right to someone owned or controlled is tellingly revealed in the following development. One of the senses of *urimai* given in TL is 'woman', which is a derived sense from the sense 'that which is owned' given above; this sense exhibits itself in the compound still in use, viz., *urimai peN* 'the girl whom a boy has customary right to marry'. The semantic shift mentioned above has made possible the creation of the new compound **peNNurimai* 'women's rights, feminism' in recent years, which involves change of meaning from absence of any right to natural rights. This is a good example of Tamil mediating modern ideology. The new meanings of freedom and natural rights of individuals find expression in Tamil in the nationalist slogan of the Congress leader Tilak *cutantiram enatu piRappurimai* 'Freedom is my birthright'.

The above illustrations give evidence to assimilation of modern ideology into the semantic system of Tamil incorporating secular, rational, civil society meanings by extending, bifurcating or replacing sacred and feudal society meanings. Such assimilation is illustrative of the second kind of manifestation of modernity of the three kinds mentioned earlier. This manifestation is augmented by creation of new words to encode modern ideology, which are naturalized in the language unlike the technical terms of higher knowledge. This does not claim that modernization is total or indistinguishable from the European ideology of modernity. To give just one example for selectiveness, there is no new word or semantic extension to encode the concept of individualism constituting the ideology that the individual is the unit of social action and the concept of individual sovereignty constituting the ideology that the individual is empowered and legitimated to have and exercise free will. It perhaps reflects the fact that social group by ascription, i.e., caste, continues to be the unit of social and political action in India.

6.26 CREATION OF DIFFERENT MEANINGS

The third kind of manifestation of modernity is creation of different meanings, which are not isomorphic with either Indian tradition or European modernity. This shows that modernization cannot be equated exclusively with Europeanization or Indian revivalism. This manifestation is an expected outcome in any cultural contact given human agency to mediate and negotiate meanings. Languages were not a blank to fill in with any new ideology nor are they incapable of innovation. In the case of Indian languages with a long written tradition, there were efforts by their speakers to locate ideology similar or comparable to the modern in the tradition and to interpret and transfer them to the modern society. Such efforts include interpretation of spiritual oneness of souls in the monistic philosophy of Hinduism in the modern socio-political sense of equality and dignity of individuals. The major role played by private publications in mediating the modern ideology in the Indian languages and not so much in the beginning by the government monitored education made the possibility even more open to create different meanings. These factors point to the possibility that Enlightenment ideology was not a matter of mechanical transfer to Indian languages. As Chatterjee (1996: 27) puts it, 'modern discursive practices in the non-European languages are driven by similar interests and desires as in the West and ..., instead of producing caricatures and travesties, they continue to represent serious attempts to produce a different modernity'

6.27 INDIGENIZATION OF CHRISTIAN IDEOLOGY

A brief mention of the concern of the Christian preachers and translators in South India to preserve the purity of Christian knowledge in its transmission to Tamil will make the possibility of a different modernity clear (James 1991: 62–66; Kulandaran 1967: 240–42). In the early period of Christianity in South India in the 16th century, the Catholic church made a policy to render in Tamil script the words of Christian precepts and

practices from Portuguese. Some surviving examples of this policy are *caattaan* 'Satan', *paatiri* 'padre', etc. This policy was soon abandoned because the transliterated words did not naturalize semantically, and in some cases formally, in Tamil; they remained appended to the conceptual system of the Tamil speaking Christian converts. The missionaries created new words through derivation and compounding as prevalent in words like *teeva kumaaran* 'son of god, Jesus', *njaanasnaanam* 'bath of wisdom, i.e., baptism' and *paavamannippu* 'forgiveness of sin, i.e., confession'. This method does not solve the problem of association with Hindu religious senses of the component words of these constructions. Some words of Christianity therefore came to be used by extending the secular meanings or rare Hindu religious meanings of Tamil words to bear Christian meanings. For example, *karttaa* 'agent, doer (in the grammatical domain), head of extended household (in the legal domain)' was extended to mean 'Christ' in its derived form **karttar*; *pootakar* 'teacher' to 'pastor, ordained minister (of Christian church)'; *vicuvaaci* 'one who confides in' to 'the followers of the Christ', etc. Their secular meanings (in the first two words the rare Hindu religious meanings respectively 'creator' and 'preceptor') went out of vogue in the ordinary language. Some words keep parallelly their meanings in both religions. *teevan* 'god', for example, has the polytheistic Hindu connotation of *teavar* 'Devas' and the monotheistic Christian connotation of deus; *veetam* 'Veda' refers to the Hindu Vedas and the Bible; *kooyil* refers to 'temple' and 'church'. Meanings of many words of Christian knowledge probably are mediated by the meanings of Hindu knowledge for the Tamil speaking Christians. As it has been demonstrated that Christian beliefs and practices have been indigenized (Caplan 1987; Bugge 1994), it should be possible to find the cognitive existence of the Indian sense in the Christian ideology in India.

6 28 IDEOLOGY OF EQUALITY AND RIGHTS

Similarly, evidence of indigenization of Enlightenment ideology will show the existence of a different modernity and a negotiated modernization process in Indian languages. As already mentioned, social group

specifically caste, is the unit to define the ideas of equality and justice, more than the individual. **Camuuka niiti* 'social justice', which is about levelling caste inequality and not so much about individual and gender inequality, is a different idea from **cama niiti* 'equal justice', which is about levelling inequality between individuals and 'natural' social categories like gender. The meaning of 'communal dining' was added to *cama panti* 'same row in a feast' to refer to public dining of people of different castes together, which challenged the traditional practice of separate cooks and places for people of different castes to eat due to the importance of food in maintaining ritual hierarchy, which was sought to be erased.

No distinction is made regarding the idea of rights between caste, individual or gender, as it is done with the idea of justice—*cama urimai* 'equal rights' includes all. Parallel to **tani urimai* 'individual rights' and **peNNurimai* 'women's rights', there is no **camuuka urimai* to mean 'caste rights'. In the other meaning of *urimai* i.e., 'ownership', **camuuka urimai* 'social ownership', which is synonymous with **camuuka uTaimai*, has the general sense of society and not the specific sense of caste. An example will clarify this: *paaratyvin paaTalkaL camuuka urimai/uTaimai aakkappaTTana* 'Bharathi's songs were made social/national property' **Camuuka uTaimai* 'social ownership' is a different idea from another modern word **potu uTaimai* 'common or public ownership', which in contrast with **tani uTaimai* 'individual ownership', means 'state ownership of property, communism'.

**Camuuka niiti* 'social justice', in the modern ideology in India, incorporates not the absence of discrimination but the presence of positive discrimination to compensate any disadvantage between castes, which is essential to implement the ideology of equality between castes. This meaning of preferential treatment is incorporated in **cama niiti* 'equal justice' with regard to gender equality, but not with regard to individuals

6.29 IDEOLOGY OF WOMAN

The gender ideology of equality incorporates the meaning of dependency of woman in it. It is the consequence of the ideology that the woman

needs protection being weaker. Since the woman is different, equal treatment of her requires protective treatment. Traditional metaphors of women such as *koTi* 'creeper' needing a pole to stand retain their favourable use. The idea of protection relates to safeguarding her purity for reproduction, as revealed in metaphors like *malar* 'flower', whose purity is to be safeguarded for offering to the Lord, and these metaphors are still in accepted use. They encode the belief that family or home is the abode of the woman. Along with the new vocabulary of the modern ideology of equality and freedom in modern Tamil like the desirable **peN viTutalai* 'liberation of woman', the undesirable **peNNaTima* 'slavery or subjugation of woman', words like the desirable **kuTumpa peN* 'family woman, i.e., domestic woman' and the undesirable *vaaZaaveTTi* 'the wasted one with no life' (TL labels it local) to refer to the woman separated from her husband also have come into currency in the modern period. *peN pavvam* 'sin against woman' is a lexicalization manifesting the above ideology of protection and purity; the sin refers to acts that include dissolving or preventing a marriage, threat to a woman's chastity, etc. On this ideology of women as the ones to be protected as providers of purity of identity are based the modern words like **taay moZi* 'mother tongue' and **tuay naaTu* 'mother land'. It also leads to deification of the woman as in the modern expression **peN teyvam* 'godly woman'. This is a reversal of the portrayal of her in the pre-modern religious poetry as *peN maayam* 'woman of illusion, i.e., seducer'. These words do not have corresponding masculine equivalents.

The gender ideology of the woman as the protector of family purity and continuity and as the receiver of family security binds her to the family and does not confer equality on her by denying her freedom of choice as an individual. This is different from the equality in modern ideology, which is inseparable from freedom of choice. The different ideology of equality for women based on biological difference, unlike with caste, incorporates the traditional role for women. This traditional role is a limiting factor, and also a conflicting factor, with regard to equal educational, economic and political opportunities for women. This conflict has been debated in Indian languages and has been a favourite theme for novels from the beginning of the modern period and it remains contentious to date in the ideology of women in India (and perhaps in other modern states as well). The gender ideology as coded in Indian languages in the modern period gives women differential equality and controlled freedom.

6.30 SITE FOR DIFFERENCE

A different modernity in India has been shown where it shares features with tradition and exhibits a dialectic relation with it, with regard to social and political institutions (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967). It is subjected to adaptive strategies for a bimodal life with regard to classes of people (Singer 1972: Parts 4&5) and is redefined for Indianness with regard to domains of knowledge (Chatterjee 1996: Chapter 4). The linguistic manifestation of a different modernity was indicated above by a fragmentary description of words and their meanings in modern Tamil. It suggests that modernization of Indian languages is not a mere reproduction of Enlightenment ideology in them, but that they are a site to make differences in that ideology. A fuller demonstration of this point awaits a detailed analysis of the discourse of this ideology in the Indian languages from the latter part of the last century.

6.31 OTHER ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE MODERNIZATION

Modernization is an evolutionary process as well and not a contact phenomenon alone. The question whether the beginning of this process antedates European contact has not been discussed in this chapter. It has been suggested (James 1991: 52), disputing the received opinion, that a modern feature of the dictionary, which is the alphabetic arrangement of words to use graphic cues rather than metrical cues for their retrieval, that necessitate dependency on literacy skills rather than on memory skills for the use of the dictionary (though the use still was not for reference by all but was for composing verses by a few), appeared in incipient form in the Tamil society in 1594 before intensive European contact. This contact, by the new needs it created and the knowledge and technology it brought, later accelerated the development of the modern dictionary in form and function. This points out that the modern dictionary in Tamil is not a mere imitation of European dictionaries. Such a developmental process is possible for ideological modernization of language

also. Analysis of the texts preceding the 19th century will be needed to demonstrate this

Differential modernization between Indian languages is also not discussed in this chapter. This possibility exists because of the differences in the nature and period of European contact for different languages and because of their different traditional past. Mediation with the Christian ideology was early and extensive compared with the Enlightenment ideology for many tribal Indian languages. At the same time, ideology about equality in their tradition may be closer to the modern ideology than in the major Indian languages.

The description of ideological modernization of Indian languages in this chapter is based on written texts and the educated speech as they are reflected in the dictionaries. The modern ideology has certainly transmitted itself to the language used by the non-literate. The nature and extent of the transmission can be evaluated only by an analysis of subaltern oral discourse. Given the social divide reproduced by modern education, any difference in language modernization within a language community will have considerable social significance.⁸

NOTES

- 1 The missionaries published on European secular knowledge also. Serampore Mission, for example, in its Bengali journal *Dig Darshan* (1818) addressed to the youth, published a series of historical articles on European renaissance (Kopf 1969: 157) and Robert de Nobili published a book in Tamil *anyjananivaaranam* 'Removal of Ignorance' (reprinted in 1891 but written in the early 1600s) on Galileo's astronomical discoveries (Meenakshisundaram 1974: 280).
- 2 Tamil and other languages of the Presidency were introduced as media of instruction and examination at the secondary level up to matriculation in Madras Presidency, as an alternative to English medium, in 1925 and after a slow progress, 51 per cent of the secondary schools in the Presidency offered Indian languages as media of instruction by 1937 (Nurullah and Naik 1943: 650). A bilingual glossary of about 10,000 scientific terms in English and Tamil was published by Madras Presidency Tamil Sangam in 1938, which is mistakenly given as the year of introduction of Tamil medium also by James (1991: 161).
- 3 Roy (1995: 30, 31), however, gives information about printing from 1777 by British and Bengali individuals.
- 4 The listing starts from 1867, when the Book Registration Act came into effect, so there is a gap of one year (1866) between this catalogue and Murdoch's. Of the total titles (it will be slightly more than 8,578 because of titles inserted with alphabet suffix to the serial number), 4,860 were not physically identified by the editor and

so their classification is by inference from their titles, the four way classification of titles made by me in the paper is only a rough approximation because the sub-classes in the catalogue overlap across these four major classes. Also because like Murdoch's based on titles, categorization of titles into four classes based on sub-classes can be misleading. I am grateful to P. Sankaralingam of Raja Muthiah Research Library, Chennai for the statistical tabulation of the entries in the catalogue into subject classes.

Tamil turned to classical Tamil, another traditional resource, for its lexical development in the 20th century and replaced the words of Sanskrit origin to assert separate cultural and political identity and to express the changing power relation between Brahmins and non-Brahmins (Annamalai 1979). Urdu had chosen Persian as its resource, as an expression of power and culture of the ruling elite in the beginning and of political and cultural differentiation later (King 1994: Chapters 2 & 3).

I have not been able to date these changes in the direction of modernization in the absence of a historical dictionary of Tamil. The modern words, which are not found in TL and WD, are marked with *. They may have come into use in the present century, and some even after India's independence, indicating late linguistic manifestation of certain aspects of modern ideology. But TL, which is the only dictionary with citations for authentication from actual texts, is cursory in its coverage of 19th century prose writings.

It has about 9,000 entries compared to 67,452 of WD and about 117,000 of TL. WD is the culmination of the work started by J Knight with the assistance of native Tamil scholars in the 1840s and continued by L Spaulding. The original Fabricius Dictionary of 1779 (reprinted in 1809), which is not accessible now, was revised and enlarged and published under the name 'A Dictionary of Tamil and English based on Johann Philip Fabricius' Malabar-English Dictionary' in 1897 and subsequently in 1910, 1933 and 1972 with further revisions and additions. Since there is indication in all subsequent editions of the added and revised words and their senses, it is not possible to fix the meanings that were obtained in the 18th century. The research reported in this chapter, which was part of a larger project on Modernization of Indian languages, was carried out with a visiting fellowship from IAS, for which I am grateful to it.

PART II

PLANNING MULTILINGUALISM

MULTILINGUALISM AND THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution defines the political, social and economic fabric of a country reflecting the aspirations of its people. Though it is basically a blueprint for change, it also has some features of continuity. In the Indian Constitution, the feature of continuity is the plurality of Indian society. The role envisaged by the Indian Constitution for languages for change and continuity in Indian society is the subject matter of this chapter.

Let me first take up plurality. Under the Fundamental Rights, Article 29(a) provides the right for any section of the citizens to conserve its language, script or culture. Article 30 provides the right for the linguistic minorities, as it does for the religious minorities, to establish and administer educational institutions. The courts have interpreted the Constitution as saying that the establishment of educational institutions by the minorities is to conserve their culture including language. But this is not happening in reality and most of the minority institutions promote English. Conservation of language according to the Constitution, is thus part of the cultural right. This right for the preservation of language through minority educational institutions has had a significant

according to the Constitution makers. When a member of the Constituent Assembly, Maulana Hasrat Mohani pleaded for power for the Centre to intervene in the area of education, which was a state subject, when a state violated basic principles of education like use of mother tongue in the primary and secondary stages, T.T. Krishnamachari argued against putting education in the Union or Concurrent List of subjects for legislation, pointing out that besides the Centre's power for coordination, the fundamental rights of the minorities for preservation of their language would be the Constitutional safeguard against any state's misuse of its power in education regarding language.

It may be noted that the Constitution talks about the conservation (i.e., preservation) of language and not the promotion or development of language. This is to be understood in the context of Article 29, which is generally interpreted as the beginning to state the fundamental rights of minorities, though the word 'minorities' is used only in the next Article. In this interpretation, this Article is meant to give protection to minority languages and cultures through educational institutions established by the minority communities.

Conservation is facilitated only when there is no discrimination by language in the domains like education and employment. It is stipulated in Article 29(b) that no citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained or supported by the state on grounds of language, just like religion and caste. The Constitution does not stipulate that the educational institutions maintained or supported by the state should teach the minority language or give education through it to students speaking a minority language. It is to be done by the educational institutions established by the linguistic minorities, which of course are protected by the Constitution to get aid from the state. Thus the Constitution envisages that the conservation of minority languages is to be done through community action and not directly by the state with its resources, though state aid should be available to minority schools.

Nevertheless, the VIIIth amendment introduced in 1956 as Article 350A enjoins upon the state 'to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups'. The significance of this amendment is that the use of minority mother tongue in primary education is stipulated for the sake of education and not as a component in the conservation of culture. However, as the Constitution does not speak about the use of the mother tongue of the majority at the primary or any level of education,

it may still be interpreted that the use of language in education is a matter of minority protection.

It should be noted that the use of mother tongue in primary education is not a matter of Fundamental Rights of the citizens, but comes under the Directive Principles to the state. It is enjoined that this shall be the endeavour of the states. It is yet to be seen whether the recent judgement of the Supreme Court (in the case of *Mohini vs. State of Karnataka*, 1992), which states that education is a fundamental right deriving from the right to good life, encompasses education through mother tongue as a fundamental right of the citizens. With regard to the prescription of the compulsory learning of the majority language in schools by linguistic minorities without any choice to learn their language, the courts have held (the case of *High Court of Karnataka Linguistic Minorities Protection Committee vs. State of Karnataka*, 1981; the Supreme Court case of *D A.V. College vs. State of Punjab*, 1971) that it violates the fundamental right for equality before the law and for equal protection by the law (Article 14). It is significant, however, to note that Article 15, which prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth does not include language. Nor does Article 16 on discrimination in respect of employment or office. This means that denial of employment for lack of competence in a language, for example the official language of the state, is not discriminatory by itself.

By the preservation of minority languages, the Constitution provides for the preservation of multilingualism and thus continuity of plurality. Though it does not specifically mention the preservation of majority languages, it is assumed in the Constitution from the various roles it provides for the majority languages in the three wings of the government, viz., legislature, executive and judiciary. This also provides by consequence for the development of majority languages defined as the elaboration of their use in new powerful domains.

It is possible to claim that every language in India is a minority language on the ground that no language has speakers more than all other language speakers put together.¹ This raises the question of the unit for defining majority. The above is true if the whole country is taken as the unit. If a state is taken as the unit, there will be majority languages. At the same time, a majority language in one state may be a minority language in another state and thus every language is likely to have minority status in some part of the country given the internal migration of the past and present, which is a Fundamental Right provided in the Constitution.

It should be noted that while the Constitution specifically prescribes the language for administration, legislature and judiciary and a time table for change from the use of English from the time of commencement of the Constitution, there is no specific mention of the language of education except at the primary level as mentioned above, which was done through an amendment. This is a major lacuna in the Constitution leading to the failure of implementing the Constitutional provision regarding the use of Indian languages as official languages in the Union and the states. The fact that manpower development through education for the use of Indian languages in administration was not planned and English continued to be the medium of education at the tertiary level² provided grounds for the extension of English as the official language and for delaying the exclusive use of Indian languages in administration, as envisaged in the Constitution. It correlates with the fact that the Constitution does not speak about change in language with regard to public service examination (Article 315–323). This resulted in bilingualism in administration with two languages having official language status, one of which is English.

The Constitutional direction that Hindi will be the official language in the Centre and Hindi or a language or languages in a state will be its official language is a direction for change. This change has deep socio-economic significance. It will alter the power relations between the elite and the channels of access to power for the people. The shift will be from the English elite to the Indian languages elite. But it did not happen as envisaged for many reasons one of which was mentioned above. The Constitution itself is very cautious about this shift and is concerned about break of continuity. The fifteen-year period given by the Constitution for the shift came to be modified because of the political and economic changes in the country. There was no time frame fixed for the states, as was done for the Centre, for the shift from English to Indian languages. With regard to change in the language of legislatures and courts, the Constitution states that the authoritative texts of bills, acts, rules, orders, decrees and judgements will be in English at the Centre and the states for a period of fifteen years. Even if they are originally made in an Indian language, they should necessarily be accompanied by an English translation during this period. The mother tongue of the members can be allowed in their speeches in Parliament only if they cannot adequately express themselves in Hindi or English.

In spite of the caution about change, the shift of language in the domains of power, when it happened, brought about a change in the nature

of multilingualism in the country. The functional relation between Indian languages altered and those which became official languages became dominant (Chapter 10).

Though the choice of some languages for use in the domains of power based on the size of their population creates a hierarchy among the Indian languages, the Constitution does not give any language a symbolic superiority to symbolize the nation.³ No language is declared the national language of India. The Constitution does not oblige the citizens to pay allegiance to one language as the national language, as they are obliged to do for the national flag. It is multilingualism that symbolizes India. This is important from the point of view of language planning. The Constitution does not consider that one language is required for transforming the new country into a nation. Indian nationhood or national identity is not tied to one language, as it is not tied to one religion. This may be called the indirect Constitutional prescription of linguistic secularism for India. Linguistic secularism in the sense of linguistic pluralism with the right to any language for use and development has been the case historically in India and the Constitution reflects this fact of history. It provides the ideological foundation for preserving multilingualism.

The Constitution has ensured through Fundamental Rights for equality under law that the power given to some Indian languages by elevating their public role in independent India is balanced and does not destroy the multilingual fabric of the country. It is a different matter whether this Constitutional objective is being realized in the present day realities of the country.

NOTES

- 1 The Second Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities gives a variable definition as regards the unit. 'Linguistic minorities are minorities residing in a territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language or script of their own. In other words, linguistic minority at the state level means a group of people whose mother tongue is different from the principal language of the state, at the district and taluk levels, different from the principal language of the district or the taluk.'
- 2 The Supreme Court has held that: 'No state has the legislative competence to prescribe any particular medium of instruction in respect of higher education or research and scientific or technical instructions, if it interferes with the power of the Parliament under Item 66 of List one of the Seventh Schedule, which puts in the Union List coordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or

research and technical institutions' (Supreme Court case 261 (1971: 2) of D.A.V. College vs. The State of Punjab).

- 3 The ruling (official) languages in India in the past like Sanskrit, Persian and English were not called national languages in their time.

MULTILINGUAL DEVELOPMENT

Multilingualism is more than the presence of many languages in a person, a community or a country. It is the functional relation between the many languages in each of these spheres that defines multilingualism and its nature and differentiates one multilingualism from another. The functional relation between languages is decided culturally by the individual, socially by the community and politically by the state. In a centralized polity, which many countries have presently, political determination of functions has a profound impact on the nature of multilingualism in all three spheres. This is largely because of the power of the state over resources and their allocation to languages. Nevertheless, political determination does not take place in a vacuum and the values of individuals and communities interact with it particularly in a democratic polity.

The political dimension of language functions is reflected in categorizing languages and in naming those categories. The language categories of India are mother tongues, minority languages, tribal languages, regional languages, scheduled languages, official languages and national languages. Each category is plural in number and the number is a variable ending itself to political negotiations and decisions. This means that

an autonomous language and become a variety of another language. The 1961 Census of India grouped over 1,600 mother tongues into 200 languages. Not all mother tongues are linguistically autonomous entities, but the grouping is done not on the linguistic criterion alone. Maithili, for example, with 50,00,000 speakers (1961 Census; according to the claims of the elite of the community, it is over 150,00,000), a literary past and script and genetic relation with eastern Indo-Aryan is a variety of Hindi, a western Indo-Aryan language. This is so by the political decision of the state as well as the community's ambivalence between loyalty to the mother tongue and regional and national aspirations realizable through identification with Hindi (Brass 1974).

A minority language may become an official language of the state, while retaining its minority label. Urdu, for example, is a minority language but is the second (official) language in Uttar Pradesh and is the official language in the Hyderabad region of Andhra Pradesh. A minority language may become a majority language and an official language when a state is created as a new administrative and political unit within the country. This happened, for example, with Mizo when Mizoram was carved out of Assam. Mizo retains the label of being a tribal language as used by a tribal community irrespective of the change in its function. A majority language may become a minority language due to political changes forced by demographic changes as it happened with Kok Borok, a tribal language in Tripura when Bengali-speaking Hindu migrants crossed the border from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and with Sindhi, a literary language of a business community in Sindh Province (now in Pakistan), when its Hindu speakers were displaced at the time of the Partition of India and spread over different urban centres of India.

A language may be included newly in the VIIIth schedule of the Indian Constitution as Sindhi was added to the list in 1967, and Konkani, Nepali and Manipuri in 1992. A language, which may not belong to any of the categories (other than being the mother tongue of a tiny [0.02 per cent] population), may be an official language, as is the case with English, which is an official language of India along with Hindi and of a state, Nagaland.

The language categories are not mutually exclusive. This can be understood from the fact that a scheduled language may not be an official language (e.g., Sanskrit, Kashmiri, Sindhi and Nepali) and the fact that a regional language may not be an official language of the state in spite of being its majority language (e.g. Kashmiri).

The above situation shows that the category of a language and its resultant functional position are determined not by the population size of the speakers alone. They are determined by historical and political factors. This means that the categorization is amenable to negotiation and change. It is also clear from the above that a language may belong to more than one category simultaneously. All this shows that the functional relation between languages in Indian multilingualism is not unitary or constant. Multilingual development, i.e., language planning, in India is based on this flexibility in multilingualism and it aims at having an equilibrium keeping open the possibility of negotiation for change.

Negotiation is made possible by the choice of participatory democracy as the political system and by the commitment to multiculturalism through languages in the Indian Constitution (Chapter 7). For preserving minority languages and the cultures built on them, the Fundamental Rights of the citizens guaranteed by the Constitution provide for equal treatment before law (Article 14) and non-discrimination (Article 15). Though the latter Article gives religion, race, sex and place of birth as grounds for non-discrimination and does not include mother tongue or language in the enumeration of grounds, the courts have consistently interpreted it in conjunction with the former Article and decreed that any discrimination by mother tongue or language is a violation of equal treatment before law while conceding that the state is entitled to require learning of its official language in schools and for jobs in the government (Annamalai 1998).

Any community has the right to conserve its distinct language, script and culture (Article 29) and the religious and linguistic minorities have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice (Article 30). It is for these minorities to use these educational institutions to preserve their language, religion and culture or to improve the education and opportunities of their children that are valued in the market place. The states have the duty to endeavour to provide education in the mother tongue of the children of linguistic minorities at the primary stage (Article 350A).¹

Regarding the language of administration, the Constitution provides that 'the legislature of a state may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the state or Hindi as language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purpose of that state' (Article 345). The President may direct the state for a language to be 'officially recognized throughout the state or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify', if there is a demand from the speakers of that language who form

a substantial proportion of that state (Article 347). So, more than one language may be official for the whole or part of a state for all or specified official purposes.

The legislatures of the states chose a language—not always the language of the majority—to be the official language and in some cases, additionally another language to be official for specific purposes or specific administrative reasons. Except the states where Hindi (with its varieties) is the majority language, Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh,² where there are many Pahadi and Tibeto-Burman languages respectively with no single majority language, no other states chose Hindi as its official language. There are thus sixteen languages categorized as a full official language at the state and national levels and four as partial official languages at the state level.³

In the domain of education, as of 1990, forty-three languages are offered as medium of instruction at the primary stage. Forty-four languages are taught as languages at that level (NCERT 1992).⁴ This is out of about 100 categorized as languages out of the mother tongues reported by the people in the 1991 Census.⁵ At the secondary level, the state official language is a medium of education along with Hindi and English in centrally administered and private schools in the states. There are also minority languages as media of education, which are generally the majority languages of the neighbouring states and were media in the composite states before their reorganization into states. At the tertiary level, the state official languages and English are the media of instruction and the latter is sought after by the majority of students, particularly in science courses. Hindi is a relatively more popular medium in Hindi states than other official languages in their states except Gujarat. In professional education like medicine, engineering, law, business administration and finance, the medium is mostly English. Minority languages like some tribal languages of Bihar and Assam and some varieties of another language like Maithili (of Hindi) are languages of study at the graduate level. Print media is in the private domain and their language use reflects commercial viability and community support. There are newspapers and magazines for light reading published in about ninety languages. Academic and other such journals are mostly in English with some in Hindi and a few regional languages. Serious creative literature is published in a small number of languages. The Central Literary Academy (Sahitya Akademi) awards annual prizes for the best writing in over twenty languages including Indian English; one of the languages, Maithili, recognized for high literary function is categorized for official ————— as a variety of Hindi

The states bestow literary recognition to selected minority languages spoken in their territory.

The electronic and entertainment media are controlled both by the central government and the market. Radio is fully under the control of the government and its broadcast programmes of different kinds are in over seventy languages. Film, which is fully controlled by the market, is made in about fifteen languages but Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada have a larger number of films made in a year compared to other languages. Hindi films run throughout the country but in the non-Hindi areas of the South they are rare and are often dubbed. Other language films are shown in major towns outside the state where those languages are in the majority, which have a viable minority population speaking the language of the film. This is true of video and audio rentals also, as of light music performances on festive occasions. English films are imported and they are shown all over India in major towns. Television channels are provided by the government and by commercial companies. The government channels have programmes in Hindi and English for the whole country and in some regional languages in the metropolitan centres of the concerned regions. The commercial channels, through satellite and cable, beam exclusively in Hindi or in some of the regional languages. English channels from outside the country are available selectively through satellite or cable.

Two points emerge from the above broad description of the use of languages in different domains. One is that a language may have a low function or status in one domain but a higher function or status in another. This is the result of differences between governmental planning and non-governmental efforts including those of communities and learned bodies regarding the use and recognition of languages. The other reason is that the dictates of the market compete with the goals of the government in determining the use of languages for specific functions.

Another aspect of multilingual development, which derives from the determination of the distributed functions of languages, is their formal development to equip them to perform the determined functions. This formal development is to be of the appropriate functional level. This development is also multilingual and multilateral. The central and state governments, using the financial and political resources at their command, create the means and mechanism to commission the intellectual elite of the state to build up the resources of languages to perform their determined functions in public domains like administration, law and education and to legitimize those functions. These domains are an integral part of

legitimizing the state itself. With regard to other domains that pertain to the enrichment of life such as those involving print and electronic media, the government limits itself to providing financial subvention and incentives to languages which the market does not support.

The governmental involvement in India for formal development of languages may be brought under eight broad heads.

Development of materials: The materials include reference works like monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, encyclopedias, monographs on the history of language and literature, text books for all levels of education and supplementary books, manuals and handbooks for bureaucrats, law enforcement officers and material producers. These materials are brought out by government funded bodies like Granth (book) academies and text book boards at the state and central levels with the help of expert committees as well as by universities and commercial firms.

Creation of technical terms: This involves coining new terms in administration, law, science and technology and other academic disciplines and preparing glossaries of them. This work is mostly to find equivalents to terms in English in other official languages of India. It is done by the Committee for Scientific and Technical Terms (CSTT) of the Government of India and by similar committees in the states. CSTT attempts at coordination for increased comprehensibility of terms across languages and one of the means it employs for this purpose is to derive the terms from Sanskrit roots and words. But a language ideology in the states like the ideology of Purism in Tamil Nadu, or of differentiation between Hindi and Urdu in the Hindi region or of closeness to the spoken language may not give credence to such a general principle. There is also the problem of already existing Sanskrit borrowings having semantic changes in different languages. These terms are generally considered pedantic by the users.

Technological application: The level of application of technology varies depending on the functional status of the language concerned. For preliterate languages, it is devising a script and a spelling system, for literary languages it is reforming and standardizing the alphabet inventory to fit the keyboards of the typewriter and to speed up composing for print. New typefaces and font designs are also developed to improve printing. To use computer technology for the official languages, the Indian Standard Character Information Interchange (ISCII) code, computer keyboard and printing software have been

developed. Word processors in these languages and interfaces for them to use other general application software are under different stages of development. Development of spell checkers, machine aided translation systems and web technology for the use of the official languages is in its infancy. Development of such technology for language application is funded by the central government in research and development institutions in technology and language. Commercial companies also contribute to this development for the major languages that have commercial return.

Information storage and dissemination: This work so far has been low tech such as production of books and strengthening library services. Recently, the Department of Electronics of the Government of India supported the creation of databases of texts of the modern period in the scheduled languages and they have a corpus of three million words each. They are accessible at the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL). Mass media and popular journals of professional subjects help the dissemination of new information.

Book production: Popular and creative books are produced by commercial publishing firms in languages that have viable population size and literacy levels. They are published in government-supported bodies like Sahitya (literature) academies of the Centre and the states, National Book Trust and Children's Book Trust of the Centre. The governments have schemes to give grants to subsidize publications and to purchase books to be given to public libraries in order to encourage book production.

Translation: Translation is a means of content enrichment of languages. Primarily books from English are translated by commercial publishers. The government aid in translation is for text books at the tertiary level. The Constitution, laws and legal manuals are translated by the government to ensure their authenticity. Translation of literature and other materials between Indian languages is marginal.

Manpower development: Training programmes to develop human resources in all the above areas are conducted by governmental institutions and universities.

Language promotion. Language promotion, as distinct from language development, increases the number of users of a language and their skills, whether as a first language or second language. As a first language, it involves primarily development of literacy skills. Language promotion is about language users, as language development is about

language use and language form. It increases inter-personal communication potential between people. In a country which is functionally multilingual, language promotion should be multilingual.

The most important formal means of multilingual promotion is through teaching many languages. To do it through schools, there are language institutions such as departments or recipients of government grants in India, which train language teachers, design language curricula and develop models of language evaluation. Such institutions under the central government are the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), Central Institute of Hindi (KHS), Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL), National Institute of Sanskrit (RSS) and National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) (NCERT 1992)

The national policy on language education known as the Three Language Formula is to teach a minimum of three languages before the end of ten years of schooling (Aggarwal 1991). They are the regional language (or the official language of the state when the two are different), Hindi and English (which are official languages of the Union). When the regional language happens to be Hindi, as in Hindi-speaking states, another regional language, preferably from the southern region, must be taught for the purpose of national integration and for increasing multilingualism among Hindi speakers, which is low. In actual practice, the states follow variations of this formula and in general the school curriculum offers a larger number of languages to choose from. Providing room for the mother tongue, when it is different from the regional language, is one reason for the variation. Many states include the classical language Sanskrit also as an option in place of the regional language contributing to variation. One state (Tamil Nadu) and one union territory (Pondicherry) teach only two languages in their schools, leaving out Hindi. Schools administered by the central government do the same, but they leave out the regional language. English is taught in all schools and in all states, the difference between states is in the number of years it is taught.

Outside formal education, there are non-governmental voluntary agencies, which teach some regional languages, Hindi and English as second language to adults. Those who teach regional languages are few in number and they operate in cities including those in Hindi states. The successful ones in terms of the number of adults taught, however, are those that teach Hindi in non-Hindi states. There is also language teaching through distance education to adults by universities at the graduate level and by other institutions supported by public funds. Teaching English to the

youth and adults, on the other hand, is a commercial enterprise and there are private teaching outfits of English in many towns in the country

It will be seen from the above that the resources of the state are used for multilingual development and a large part of the resources are spent on official languages of the Centre and the states. The planned effort of the states is to promote a particular kind of multilingualism through language policy in education, which favours the official languages. The non-official languages get some share in the resources of the state and find some place among the school languages depending on their political consciousness and power. English has consolidated—even improved—its functional position in Indian multilingualism (Annamalai 1994). Though English does not have a share in the resources of the state for its development in the first six areas listed above, it does have a big share in the last two areas, viz., manpower development and language teaching. In these two areas as well as in book production, English benefits from the market and gets its resources from there as well. In other areas, international inputs are profitably used to enhance its position in India.

The questions to be answered finally are whether planning has contributed to the preservation of multilingualism in India and whether it has contributed to changing the nature of multilingualism. The answers are positive to both questions. But, with regard to the answer to the second question, a provision must be added that the market forces also have contributed to the change and the change may not be according to the stated goals of government planning. It must be pointed out that the planned agenda of language development may be intercepted by linguistic minorities, who are in a position to politically negotiate with the state to safeguard or improve the position of their language in the multilingual arrangement.

The most important change in the nature of multilingualism, besides the strengthened position of English mentioned above, is the emergence of dominance of regional languages, which are official languages of the states, to provide social and economic mobility through government employment and positions of political patronage. Their population size in the linguistically reorganized states helps them to attain dominance (Chapter 10). They increase their population size by absorbing some mother tongues as their dialects, as Hindi does at the national level.

As some minority languages with an electoral base in the states have extracted some concessions to enhance their position often using a preference for English as a weapon in their political negotiations with the majority language, the regional languages, particularly in the southern

and eastern regions, used their preference for English to negotiate with the dominance of Hindi at the national level. A recurrent political claim from some political parties in non-Hindi states, particularly in the South, is to make all the scheduled languages official languages of the Union.⁶ This claim is to neutralize the superior position of Hindi in the central government and implicitly enhance the position of English. As a result, Hindi, instead of appropriating the role of English, has come to share the role of the official language at the national level with English. The policy of change over from English to Hindi in administration after fifteen years of the Republic was changed into a policy of indefinite bilingualism in 1965. Hindi, however, has a position as the second dominant language, by being a secondary aid to mobility to higher positions in the central government, by being useful for political lobbying in Delhi to further business interests and by being helpful to social climbing in some metropolitan cities. It has also gained a position as a language of entertainment through media such as film and television.

The dominance of regional languages is countered not by Hindi but by English in areas like education and business. English uses its advantage as a compromise language between competing Hindi and regional languages and as the entrenched instrument to acquire skills and knowledge needed to run an industrial economy and to manage a centralized government and business. English retains its dominant position allowing some concessions to Hindi and regional languages that compete for its position.

The change in the nature of multilingualism is reflected in the preference for the second language among individuals. The number of speakers who claim English and Hindi as their second language is on the increase and this figure for the regional languages is on the decrease.⁷ This, however, may not reflect a statistical change in bilingualism. The census question asks every person to name two languages they know other than their mother tongue. Bilingualism figures are tabulated and published with regard to the first of the two languages given by people. The order in which people give the names of two languages may or may not be on the basis of competence in them, and may reflect their perception of importance of a language and of prestige its knowledge gives them. English and Hindi are going up in this scale and the recent census figures may be indicative of such a change in perception. Another force at work is that, with the regional language becoming dominant in the states, minority language speakers tend to give them as their first language (mother tongue) as the answer to the census question: 'What is the language used normally in the household? If more languages are used, give the language

used with your mother.' The minority language may be given as the second or third language or not at all, though it is used for certain functions.

The imbalance in multilingualism in its being predominantly the feature of minorities has not changed. The functional improvement of minority languages has taken place only with regard to electorally important ones, as mentioned earlier. Some minority tribal languages in Assam have attained political control over their communities by political struggle either by creation of separate states or by creation of autonomous districts, wherein their languages are used in administration and education. Urdu, as a minority language, has improved in status for use in education and administration in some states. But such functional improvement has not made more people bilingual in them. The extent of bilingualism among Hindi speakers remains low, in spite of the policy that the students in Hindi states must learn another regional language in schools.

With regard to formal development of Indian languages to equip them for their new functions, a fundamental fallacy in the policy worked against their performing those functions. The fallacy is the belief that formal development of a language must precede its use for new functions. This is in contradiction to the natural history of languages that shows that a language develops by use. This fallacy promoted top down planning and resulted in the non-use of Hindi and other regional languages for their planned new functions. Creation of technical terms in science and technology and law is a good example of this. Millions of new technical terms have been created by expert committees constituted by governments but they are neither comprehended because they are high brow etymological translation of Latin or Greek based English terms nor are they used by practitioners in the field because English continues to function in these domains. Without the use of regional languages in higher education and professional education, on the ground that they have not yet developed the vocabulary and style necessary to meet the demands at these levels of education, administrators, professionals and scientists are left without the ability and confidence to use regional languages in their work.

Another mismatch in planning was that the language policy was disjointed from the economic policy, which was built around establishing heavy industries based on high technology, in which English has a historical advantage. This resulted in Indian languages not being able to give any higher order economic rewards to their users. This has been a major deterrent for Indian languages to have users in their new domains.

Centrally controlled economy with its attendant centralized implementing bureaucracy is congenial to English for retaining its functional superiority.

Multilingual development has given, after fifty years of planning, politically and functionally strengthened regional languages. It has also made some minority languages demand their political and functional elevation at the level of the state. It has led to the use of more number of languages, major and minor, in political education and political participation of the people, which strengthen the democratic process. It has not made any major change in the higher order economic rewards by Indian languages, which continue to be given by English. The linguistic disparity in political and economic domains seems to be a characteristic of multilingual development in India.⁸

NOTES

- 1 This Article is an amendment to the Constitution made in 1956. It is indicative of the possibility of political negotiation to bring constitutional changes with regard to the functions of languages. This has been operationalized by the Conference of Chief Ministers of States that the mother tongue must have ten students in a class and forty students in a school for it to be used as a medium of education in specific exams and schools
- 2 Arunachal Pradesh has both English and Hindi as its official languages.
- 3 The full official languages are Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Manipuri, Mizo, Khasi, Telugu, Konkani, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Hindi and English. Thus the legal position and their actual use in administration varies between states and between levels of administration with greater use at lower levels. The partial official languages are Urdu, Garo, Kok Borok and Nepali. Sikkim has not yet legislated about its official language
- 4 There has been a reduction in the number of languages of both kinds. The number of languages that were provided as a medium was forty-seven in 1990 and the number offered as languages was eighty-one in 1970 (out of about 200 languages categorized in the 1961 Census). It must be noted that these figures relate to medium and languages offered in the school curriculum of the states and not necessarily used in practice as a medium or taught as a language. The reduction is mostly due to dropping of tribal languages and is related to the implementation of the Three Language Formula, which does not provide for a mother tongue when it is different from the regional language, which in most cases is the official language of the state. The disharmony between the prescription of this formula and of Article 350A has not been reconciled and it is a matter of political negotiation by linguistic minorities
- 5 The languages categorized out of mother tongues in the 1961 Census were about 200, and about 100 in the subsequent census. This is the result of political decisions not to report mother tongues with less than 10,000 speakers and to categorize more into majority as their

- 6 The current (1998) coalition government at the Centre led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has set up a committee to go into the question of feasibility of making the scheduled languages (now eighteen) the official languages of the Union. This is in spite of BJP's political ideology of promoting Indian national identity based on Hinduism and (implicitly) Hindi.
- 7 The 1991 Census gives a sharp decrease in the figures of English as second language and corresponding increase in the figures of Hindi as second language. This change does not warrant a conclusion that a major change has taken place in the nature of bilingualism. Perhaps it has an extraneous explanation.
- 8 This is a substantially revised version of the paper presented in the UNESCO Conference on Strategies for the Development of African Languages in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1994.

9

PLANNED LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Language develops naturally along with the society to meet the needs of changing society. The societal changes are in the direction of emergence of new technology, new social order, new social institutions and new social values reflecting a new reality. The pace of natural language development is slower than social development. Hence human intervention in language development becomes necessary. The human intervention may be through individual action by influential users of language like writers, social reformers and political leaders, through mass action in the form of language movements and through institutional action by the government and language academies or language universities. Language development through institutional action is called planned language development. This chapter is concerned about this type of language development.

Development is not always a unidirectional process moving from non-development through underdevelopment to development. It may be a change of direction of development or revival of earlier development. In India, we have all these kinds of development. There are languages of technologically advanced tribes, whose development may belong to the

first kind of linear direction of development. Efforts at making a classical language like Sanskrit a vehicle to serve modern needs especially in the public domains belong to the third kind of revival of development. The development of modern Indian languages is of the second kind, which is a change of direction of development. Most of them have developed for centuries as vehicles of creative literature and some of them as vehicles for deliberations on grammar and philosophy. The contemporary demand on them is to become a vehicle of modern science and technology, law, commerce, education and government. Their development is partially a kind of revival also, at least for some languages like Tamil, which were languages of education, administration and commerce in the past. In some ways, their present developmental efforts are to restore their old status.

This aspect of change of direction of development of Indian languages introduces new elements into the planning of their development. One such element is about the agent of development. Since literatures and scholars of literature were the main actors in language development, the present day planners consider them to play a primary role in planning. Advisers to the government and members of governmental bodies for language development belong to the field of literature. The other is the emphasis on aesthetic and grammatical aspects including language purism in the development of new technical vocabulary and registers rather than on the communicative and functional aspects. The third is the distance from the language of the common people. As the people of high brow literature exert their influence on codification of language for modern needs; the virtue of simplicity in language is under-recognized. This attitude is also shared by subject specialists like the professionals of law, administration and science and it makes the newly codified language less comprehensible. The difficulty level of the language helps these professionals to remain as brokers between the content of the planned Indian language and its users.

Development of creative literature is only one aspect of language development. But for many departments of language development in the states in India it is the primary programme and it is carried out by giving awards to *littérateurs*. This emphasis leads to a distortion of language development. One of the important concerns of language development is providing access to a wide range of information and knowledge. Creation of non-literary content in the language is very crucial for this. The access to it is facilitated by the generation of reference materials like

encyclopaedias, dictionaries, bibliographies, abstracts of publications and annual reviews of progress in specific fields of knowledge.

Restoration of the earlier status of the language also carries with it the burden of the past. The developmental exercise becomes backward looking rather than forward looking and slows down the speed of movement into the future. The emphasis on continuity with the past adds weight to this kind of framework for development. The norms of language, whether grammatical, lexical or stylistic, are determined or heavily influenced by the past making the emergence of new norms difficult. One result is that the most crucial ingredient for language development, viz., flexibility, is undermined.

The positive contribution of the past development of the language is that it becomes a resource to draw materials from, particularly lexical materials as well as an inspiration for developing the language to sustain the glory of the past. An example of the past being a resource is that some of the new vocabulary of administration in Tamil is drawn from inscriptions, which have recorded the royal proclamations and decisions of the past.

Another characteristic of language development in India is its multilingualism. This requires development of many languages and not just one language. This has some implications for the concept of development and the strategies for development. A strategy must be the coordination of development between various languages to ensure mutual enrichment and sharing of experience. There may be certain policies and strategies of development which could be common to all. Since the Indian languages have different characteristics of natural development—some are tribal, some are minor, some have very long literary development, some have greater impact of English, etc.—and function in different historical, socio-cultural and political environments, there cannot be identical goals and strategies for all of them. The goals for a tribal language, for example, in a tribal state like Mizoram, where it is the official language and for a tribal language in a state where another language is dominant like, Saora in Orissa are different; so are the strategies of development. This is true of some non-tribal languages also like Kashmiri, Ladakhi, Dogri in Jammu and Kashmir or Kodagu, Tulu in Karnataka. There are languages like Sindhi, which are distributed over many states without being dominant in any state and they require different goals and strategies. Nevertheless, the philosophy underlying development should be common to all. One such basic philosophical principle is development opportunities for all languages.

There are some instances in India where there is a conscious coordination of development work and a shared policy. One is the creation of technical terms. The Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology coordinates the work of term creation in the scheduled languages (not other languages) and tries to promote a common policy pertaining to the source from which roots for terms are drawn, to the process of term creation whether it is by translation, compounding or derivation, to having similarity of form across languages and to transferability of semantic comprehension of terms from one language to another. Special characteristics of some languages may force exceptions to such a common policy, as in the case of Tamil, which insists on drawing only from the Tamil source (as opposed to the Sanskrit source). A transnational language like Tamil has conflicting pulls of pluricentric norms that are formulated, besides India, in Sri Lanka, where similarity and comprehension of technical terms in Tamil are expected to lie with the terms in Sinhalese. There is perhaps a common policy to have Persian as the source in the case of Urdu in India and Pakistan. There may be a conflict about the source for Bengali in India and Bangladesh but this may not be so for Nepali in India and Nepal for historical and political reasons.

Coordination becomes essential in the case of a language like Hindi spread over more than one state within India. In the case of Hindi, there are centres of planning in the Union and in the states and coordination is essential between them also. Information available about coordination with regard to development of Hindi is minimal. Sharing of resources like text books, translations, etc., is a crucial aspect of coordination besides policy and strategies. Coordinated development between different languages in different states is almost non-existent. The survey research of the Central Institute of Indian Languages on the policy and implementation of the official language in different states and use of Indian languages as the medium of education are the first steps in this direction.

There is a related question of agent for the development for minority languages which are in the majority in one state but are in a minority in other states. The goals and methods of development of a language in a state where it is in the majority and in the states where it is in a minority are bound to be different. But coordination between these states is essential so that their efforts complement each other. The general pattern is that the codification work—like technical terms, reference materials and translations from English—is done by the state where the language is in the majority. The needs of the states where it is in a minority are met by these states themselves, like production of text books according to their

curriculum and translations from and bilingual dictionaries with the state's majority language. Nevertheless, there has been a trend lately for the minority language communities to look up to the state where the language is in the majority for resource provision and political support. This will bring in new elements in their development strategies, which may have some political implications.

Language development in a multilingual country adds another very important dimension to the policy in addition to the question of strategy of coordination described above. There are language policies in some multilingual countries, which aim at giving dominance to one language and eliminating other languages or relegating them to the home domain. In India, the policy framework for language planning is promotion of multilingualism and not monolingualism. In spite of this overall framework, implementation of a policy to achieve the goals set for the majority language in a state for use in public domains (or in the Union) may become detrimental to the development of the minor and minority languages in that state (or in the country). Social scientists have shown that in economic planning, development of one region or state has resulted in non- or underdevelopment of another. Some of them argue that it is even a deliberate, though a hidden, policy of development by the elite. This makes it necessary in a multilingual country to ensure that the development of one language is not at the expense of others; it should be inbuilt in the policy and in the development strategies. In other words, the development of the majority language in a state cannot take place in isolation of and without reference to other languages there. This means that, in policy and in strategy, language development must necessarily be an integrated development of languages in a state. This is an aspect which has not been paid due attention to by the states and the political consequences of it can be seen clearly in a state like Assam, where the state was further reorganized on linguistic (and ethnic) lines.

Another characteristic of Indian language development is the common heritage. A goal of the development of Indian languages is to replace English gradually in all domains and take over its role. The Indian languages also have English as their model to provide terms, styles and discourse forms and also to provide content through translation. The use of technology for communication and information storage and dissemination in Indian languages is perceived to be the transfer of technology developed and used for English outside India. The task of developing an Indian language is commonly perceived as the task of making it like English. The greatest danger in this approach for the development of Indian

languages is that the model obviates the product. That is, it leads to the thought that the model itself will serve the purpose and there is no need to make a new product after it. This is happening in India. This thought is strengthened by the fact that the model itself is developing fast, particularly in science and technology and so, catching up with the model becomes a perpetual task.

Another serious problem with adopting English as the model lies in the fact that Indian languages acquire a negative feature of the colonial language. This defeats the purpose of developing them. The negative feature is the inaccessibility of the language of power to the common people because of its incomprehensibility. The basic goal of using an Indian language in governance is to reduce the distance between the private home and the public office with regard to familiarity and competence in the language. When the Indian language is far removed from the home language it is almost as alien to the common people as the colonial language was. The newly acquired power and form of the Indian language distance it from the common people. This does not help to promote transparent and sympathetic administration, for which the development of Indian languages must be the enabling instrument.

This is an inevitable result of planning development from above without the participation or contribution of people to the process of developing a language. The process of creating technical terms in different professions is a case in point; the register of the official language is another.

Development of a language is not an end in itself. A language is not developed for its own sake. It is developed to serve some social, economic and political purpose. In planned development this larger purpose is often lost sight of. This is reflected in the evaluation matrix of language development, whose focus is narrow, concentrating on the quantitative aspects of development and ignoring the qualitative ones, and also concentrating on the means (i.e., the language) and ignoring the end (i.e., the larger purpose) of language development.

10

EMERGENCE OF DOMINANT LANGUAGES

The basic ingredient of nationhood is a sense of sharing among the people living in a country. The sharing may be a real or an imagined historical past (Anderson 1983) or a dream of the future. It also includes common cultural institutions, symbols, practices and ideologies. A common language is generally taken to be such a cultural institution and has been a symbol from the time of the French Revolution, when the concept of nation-state took shape. The idea of a national language to symbolize independent India was promoted during the freedom movement. But concern was expressed by many people hailing from the non-Hindi regions of the country in the Constituent Assembly while drafting the Constitution of the new nation (Austin 1966). It was argued that to elevate one language as the national language would be counter-productive to nation formation since it would mean a shift of heritage for many linguistic communities and it would violate the heritage of linguistic diversity in India. A compromise was worked out after acrimonious debates according to which no language would be designated as the national language. Hindi would be the official language of the country and fifteen languages would be listed in the Constitution from which

Hindi would draw to develop into a language reflecting the composite (as different from a unitary) culture of India. Multilingualism, then, is the shared value of the Indian nation. The Constitution grants certain rights to individuals and communities and certain duties to the state to ensure the preservation of multilingualism (Chapter 7).

The Constitution (Article 3) provides for redrawing the boundaries of the states in the country. Following the principle of political organization of the Congress Party for mass mobilization and responding to violent agitations for Linguistic States (Schwartzberg 1985), beginning with the State Reorganization Act of 1956, new states were created on the basis of language. The organizing principle was not that each language (whether listed in the Constitution or not) would have a state but that each state would have a majority language¹ (Ambedkar 1955). The linguistic states would remain multilingual. Linguistic minorities in the states vary from 4 per cent in Kerala to 37 per cent in Manipur.

The majority language is often made the official language of the state for the instrumental purpose of its administration. But there can be more than one official language in the state, which is provided for in the Constitution (Article 345); the additional official language may be for a specific region or for specific purposes. The official language may not be the majority language of the state (as Urdu in Jammu and Kashmir) or may not be a language spoken as mother tongue in the state at all (as English in Nagaland).² The Linguistic States also have multilingualism as a shared value just as the whole country does.

But the political practice has been different. The states, through various means, try to make the official language symbolize the state. Thus language is promoted to be the shared cultural institution and symbol of people living in the state. The distinction between the instrumental function and symbolic function of the language is obliterated. This is possible in the states because of the numerical majority (or religious or other identity when not a majority) of the language. This numerical superiority and the political power it gives make the state marginalize other languages in the state. With population and power in its favour, the official language is treated *de facto* 'national' language of the state making all people in the state to identify them with it and to pay allegiance to it. While the state endeavours to achieve this, the linguistic minorities resist it. This tension leads to linguistic conflicts. The nature of the conflict and the extent of success depend on the nature of the numerical and political equations between the minorities and the majority. This chapter describes

this process taking the state of Karnataka as an illustration. There are differences between the states but there are also similarities.

At the time of Independence, the Kannada-speaking population was distributed over four different political-administrative units, viz., the princely states of Mysore and Hyderabad and Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. Speakers of Kannada were in the majority in the Mysore state, where Kannada was the administrative language. Kannada-speaking regions of these four units were merged to form a new state of Karnataka in 1956, where Kannada was the majority language with 66 per cent of the people speaking it as mother tongue.³ It has an area of 1,92,204 km (5.85 per cent of the area of the country) and a population of 3,70,42,451 (in the 1981 Census making it 5.5 per cent of the population of the country) (Basavaraja 1984). Kannada was made the official language of the state by the legislature in 1963. It is progressively replacing English in government with varying degrees of effectiveness at different levels of the administration.

Other languages spoken as mother tongue in the state with a population higher than 1 per cent (1981 Census) are. Urdu (9.46 per cent), Telugu (8.06 per cent), Marathi (3.75 per cent), Tamil (3.73 per cent), Tulu (3.28 per cent), Konkani (1.73 per cent) and Malayalam (1.59 per cent). In the state capital Bangalore, the proportion of mother tongue speakers of Kannada is barely 50 per cent.

The notable features of multilingualism in the state of Karnataka are as follows. The speakers of minority languages constitute 34 per cent of the population of the state. One of the minority languages, Hindi, is the official language in six states and the Union. Five minority languages, Urdu, Telugu, Marathi, Tamil, Malayalam and Konkani are official languages of other states and are listed in the Constitution. Except Urdu, the other four languages are majority languages in the neighbouring states which have common borders with Karnataka. The speakers of minority languages in the border areas are a consequence of the linguistic reorganization of the state of Karnataka on the principle of geographical contiguity and numerical majority of Kannada speakers in an administrative unit like a taluk. The speakers of these languages, however, live inland also, that is, not adjacent to borders. Tulu and Kodagu do not have a homestead or political base outside Karnataka and did not have a separate literary history until recently. The remaining linguistic minorities, other than the recent and/or transient migrants for trade and employment, are speakers of tribal languages, who live in the outlying areas and have a marginal role in the political and economic life of the state.

The traditional economic bases of the speakers of different languages are broadly different but are not mutually exclusive. Kannada speaker, are land owners and farmers; Urdu speakers are traders and craftsmen Telugu and Tamil speakers are traders, labourers and professionals, Marathi speakers are in service trade, Malayalam speakers are in small business, Konkani speakers are in financial service, Tulu speakers are in agriculture and hotel business and Kodagu speakers are in coffee plantation and the army. All of them are now found in the administration and in professions. The growth of manufacturing and service industries and the emergence of a single market nationally have a bearing on the multilingual composition of the states including Karnataka, particularly in metropolitan cities like Bangalore.

The other side of multilingualism in the states is the emergence of the majority languages as dominant languages. They are dominant in the sense that their acquisition is necessary (though not sufficient) for political, social and economic upward mobility in the concerned state. The majority language has a territory, that is claimed to be its homestead, under the political control of its speakers. This is a new development in Indian political history. The dominant languages in the past were non-local languages of the ruling minority like English during the British period (even in the princely states the dominance of English was present in spite of its not having an official administrative status), Persian during the Mogul period and Sanskrit (or Prakrit) in the Hindu kingdoms before these periods. The local languages were used in local administration and local business. Acquisition of the ruling language did not matter much materially as opportunities for mobility for the masses were limited. It was a small segment of the population that advanced through the acquisition of the ruling language.

Territory with political power gives the community of the majority language a sense of 'sovereignty'. This felt 'sovereignty' is expressed through the claiming of additional areas along the borders of the state where speakers of the majority language live with others and through the assumption of responsibility for their interests in other states where they are a linguistic minority. These are manifestations of a sense of 'national' solidarity based on language.

The aspiration of the majority for the status of dominance and nationality is promoted by the state through its language policy. Such a status has been existing historically in the high cultural domain and it is now sought to be extended to political and economic domains. The speakers of the minority languages, particularly those of endogenous kind, perceive

that they share the literary heritage of the majority, pay allegiance to it and make contributions to it. The towering literary figures of modern Kannada (Masti, Bendre, Karanth) are mother tongue speakers of other languages (Tamil, Marathi and Tulu respectively). Until recently Kannada was the only language of literary expression for Tulu, Kodagu and Konkani speakers in the state. Folk cultural forms, like Yakshagana of the Tulu speaking community, are taken to be a component of the Kannada cultural heritage.

The state now promotes this cultural solidarity through Kannada language with its patronage. There is a Department of Kannada and Culture in the Government of Karnataka, which sponsors and awards prizes for cultural performances in Kannada irrespective of the linguistic background of its performers. Kannada Sahitya Academy (note that it is not called Karnataka Sahitya Academy), supported by the government, encourages literary works in Kannada created by writers of all linguistic backgrounds. When the government, under pressure from the linguistic minorities, recently established separate literary academics for some of the minority languages, a question raised was whether Kannada Sahitya (Literature) Academy does not have under its purview the literatures of the minority languages in the state as well. The underlying assumption in this question is that Kannada and Karnataka are isomorphous.

To ensure its due share in the entertainment media as the majority language of the state, the government has issued an order that it is mandatory for movie houses in the state to screen Kannada films for a majority number of days in a year. This order is not for films made in Karnataka (in any language) to promote the film industry but for films in Kannada language whether they are made in Karnataka or outside.

To proclaim the symbolic supremacy of Kannada in the state, the government encourages (there is no government order as in Tamil Nadu for the market place, but it is mandatory in government departments) the practice of signboards in public places and commercial establishments (and the number plates of motor vehicles) being written prominently in the Kannada language and script. This is not to subordinate minority languages in public but to supersede the supremacy of the English and Roman script. But by implication this policy excludes minority languages also. This effort has not succeeded with commercial establishments as it has with the departments and public sector establishments of the central government located in Karnataka, which display their names and other signboards in three languages viz. Kannada, Hindi and English.

At the political level, symbols of solidarity are created through the creation of icons of the state. This happens in the states of monolingual countries also as is the case with the constituent states of the US. In India, some of these symbols may be based on language. November 1st, when the new Linguistic State of Karnataka was created, is celebrated every year as the day of the Festival of the State (Rajyotsava), which is a public holiday in the state, as Independence day is for the country. There is a Kannada flag that is hoisted on that day in public places (but not in government buildings).

The politically important ideology that is linked to 'sovereignty' is the one known as the 'sons of the soil' policy. This policy is to protect the economic interests of the residents of the state by endowing some exclusive privileges to the residents defined as 'sons of the soil'. This concept does not exclude linguistic minorities in the state under certain conditions but includes Kannada speakers irrespective of residency in the state. The policy covers employment in government and public sector establishments as well as industries that make use of the resources of the state like land, water and electricity. A committee appointed by the government under the chair of Sarojini Mahishi made recommendations with regard to salaries and jobs in the state. They stipulate that the employer must give all jobs below a certain salary level and a prescribed percentage of jobs at salary levels higher than that to the people of Karnataka. As the Constitution guarantees freedom of movement and residence (except in some specified regions like Kashmir and the North-east) to all citizens of the country, no state can legally restrict migration of people of other languages into it. Therefore, the committee proposed some conditions of residency for preferential treatment in employment and such residents in the state who fulfill those conditions are popularly called 'sons of the soil'.

This policy is applied by the government for the admission of students into professional colleges in the state. In addition to residency conditions, there are conditions based on the duration and the place of school education. A student seeking admission into a professional college must have studied in Karnataka for a certain number of years and in certain grades.⁴ But this condition is not applicable to children of parents whose mother tongue is Kannada who reside outside Karnataka. These are Kannada-speaking parents who are transferred in their jobs to other parts of the country, who migrated to other parts to work in industries or to do business⁵ and who live on the other side of the border. The point that is relevant for our purpose is that solidarity by language (Kannada) is

reinforced by educational and economic rewards by the state founded on language.

Education is the most important means to build language solidarity. It is built by increasing the value of the state language and by inculcating positive attitudes about it. Education also plays a major role in constructing a shared historical and cultural heritage. The state is able to use education for these purposes because it controls the schools. The controversies and shifting stands of the government surrounding primacy for Kannada in the school curriculum give some insight into the emergence of Kannada as the dominant language of Karnataka and the challenges to it.

The school curriculum in India requires every student to learn three languages before the end of ten years of schooling. The three languages have different curricular goals, instructional time and marks. This national policy, known as the Three Language Formula, was agreed upon by all states as a political consensus. According to this formula, the three languages are the regional language, which is generally the official language of the state, English and Hindi, which are the official languages of the Union. They are called respectively first, second and third language. Since the regional language of the Hindi-speaking states is Hindi, the policy prescribes that a modern Indian language, preferably from the South, will be the third language in those states. The first language is taught from Grade I at the primary level, the second language from Grade V or VI at the lower secondary level and the third language from grade VIII at the secondary level.

This policy is implemented differently in different states. The languages offered for the students to choose from the curriculum prior to this policy continue to be available. There is, however, a progressive reduction in the number of languages (and certainly in the number of schools that offer languages other than the regional language as the first language) to suit the formula.

Prior to 1979, the languages offered in the school curriculum in Karnataka (but not necessarily taught) were as follows. One language is to be chosen from the list at each level and thus each level adds a language making it a total of three languages at the secondary level. In principle, a language chosen at a lower level will be commonly carried through higher levels. When the number of languages at a higher level is less or the languages are different from the lower level, the student is forced to make a different language choice. Further, the curriculum may have a

condition of the form: if language A is chosen at level X, then language B must be chosen at level Y.

Primary Level (grades I–IV)

Kannada, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, English

Lower Secondary Level (grades V–VII)

Malayalam, Gujarati, Sindhi, Hindi, English

Secondary Level (grades VIII–X)

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| First Language: | Kannada, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, English |
| Second Language: | (a) English, if not opted as first language
(b) Kannada, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi if English is opted for as first language |
| Third Language: | (a) Hindi or Sanskrit, if Kannada is opted for as first or second language
(b) Kannada, if Kannada is not opted for as first or second language |

The basic principles underlying the above scheme of languages in the curriculum are that the state official language (Kannada) and English (one of the two official languages of the Union) must be learnt at some level. Hindi, another official language of the Union, also must be studied at some level but Sanskrit, the classical language, may be opted for in lieu of it. The majority language Kannada may be studied as a first language through all ten grades. The large minority languages (Urdu, Telugu, Tamil and Marathi) as well as Hindi, Sanskrit and English can also be studied as the first language through all ten grades. The small minority languages (Malayalam, Gujarati and Sindhi) can be learnt only as a second language and only for three years at the lower secondary level. There is no choice available for other minority languages (Konkani, Tulu, Kodagu and tribal languages, which are interestingly endogenous languages of the state). The general choice in practice (excepting the elite schools and schools run by the minorities) is Kannada as the first language for ten years, English, as the second language for six years and Hindi as the third language for three years.

The above scheme, however, makes it possible for a student to choose to study Kannada merely as a third language for three years and to choose English, Hindi, Sanskrit or one of the large minority mother tongues as

the first language. In practice, there was a preference for English as the first language among the students of the urban middle and upper classes but it was not perceived to undermine the primacy of Kannada in the educational system. Though Kannada was their mother tongue, some urban upper caste (Brahmin) students preferred Sanskrit as the first language on the grounds that it was the language of religious texts and that it enabled students to score more marks. They opted for English as the second language (and they believed that they would be able to learn Hindi on their own using their knowledge of Sanskrit). This relegated Kannada to the third language status to be studied just for three years for these students from the upper strata of the society. The students who chose Sanskrit as the first language throughout were much smaller in number than the students who chose English as the first language. But the choice of Sanskrit was perceived to undermine the primacy of Kannada. English, on the other hand, is the sacred cow, less objectionable to backward castes in their fight for political supremacy in the state.

The government headed by Devaraj Urs as chief minister, who was the architect of the political consolidation of the backward castes in Karnataka, issued an order in 1979 dropping Sanskrit from the set of first language options. This effectively meant that students who opted for English as the first language from the primary level and Hindi as the second language from the lower secondary level would be dissuaded from choosing Sanskrit at the secondary level. Kannada would be the third language for them.

Before implementing this order, the Urs Government fell. There was a demand to restore Sanskrit in the curriculum. The successor government appointed a committee under the chair of Vinayak K. Gokak in July 1980 to advise the government on whether Kannada should be made compulsory first language in consonance with the Three Language Formula and on what the place of Sanskrit in the school curriculum should be.

The committee recommended the following in January 1981 for the secondary level.

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| First Language: | Kannada |
| Second Language: | One of |
| | (a) Modern Indian Languages: Urdu, Telugu,
Tamil, Marathi, Malayalam, Gujarati, Hindi
or |
| | (b) English or |

(c) Ancient Languages: Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Latin, Greek

Third Language. One from the above not chosen as second language

Kannada would be taught additionally from Grade III at the primary level for the students who chose another language at this level. This scheme made Kannada a compulsory first language at the secondary level and a compulsory additional language at the lower levels in preparation for the secondary level. This was hailed by the majority community as giving primacy to Kannada in the educational system.

There was opposition to this proposal from the parents who wanted to continue the pre-1979 scheme with regard to Sanskrit. There was stronger opposition from linguistic minorities (spearheaded by Urdu speakers) through petitions to the government and demonstrations in the street against compulsory Kannada and they demanded their minority languages to be restored as the first language at the secondary level. They were joined by the parents who wanted their children to study English as the first language. The majority community of Kannada speakers plunged into political action through protest processions and agitation to which Kannada writers and film artists lent support. There were violent confrontations between the majority and the minorities.

In response, the government retreated from its acceptance of the Gokak committee report in November 1981 and issued an order in April 1982 as a compromise between the opposing demands. According to this order, the languages offered at the secondary level were as follows:

Secondary Level

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| First Language: | Kannada or mother tongue: Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi, English |
| Second and Third Languages: | Kannada, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindi, English. |

If Kannada is not chosen as the first language, it must be chosen as the second or third language.

Kannada would be taught as an additional language from Grade III at the primary level for the students who did not choose it at this level.

In this compromise policy, Sanskrit would not be available as the first language; the classical languages of Islam (Arabic and Persian) would be available along with Sanskrit as a second or third language, Kannada would have to be learnt by all from the primary level either as the first language or as an additional language at this level and as the second or third language at higher levels. It may be noted that English (along with Hindi, which has a small percentage of mother tongue speakers in the state) is given the status of mother tongue. The rationale given in the order was that the students who had migrated recently from other linguistic regions and whose mother tongue was not any of the other five languages may choose English or Hindi. But in principle, it would apply to other minority language students, who had been living for long in the state. It may also be noted that the small minority languages (Malayalam, Gujarati, Sindhi) available as second language prior to 1979 were not available any more.

This compromise did not satisfy either the majority or the minorities. For the majority, Kannada was not made the only first language and for the minorities Kannada as an additional language increased the language load and discrimination favouring Kannada mother tongue schools. The majority language speakers intensified their agitation. The government quickly modified its order in July 1982 as follows:

Secondary Level:

First Language:	Kannada
Second and Third Languages:	Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Arabic, Persian, Hindi, English, Advanced Kannada

Grace marks up to fifteen out of a maximum of 150 would be awarded for Kannada learnt as the compulsory first language to the students who had not learn it in the earlier levels. This was meant for students whose mother tongue was not Kannada but in practice would include students who chose English (or Hindi) at the primary level. Kannada would be taught as an additional language from Grade III. Award of grace marks would be in operation for a period of ten years by which time every student would have learnt Kannada from Grade I or Grade III and so would not need compensation to study Kannada as the first language at the secondary level.

This modified order institutes the primacy of Kannada by making it the only first language available to students. It retains from the earlier

order the two Islamic classical languages and adds a minority language, Malayalam, from the pre-1979 period. It also includes advanced Kannada, but it would have only a symbolic value as its choice in lieu of English or Hindi would be unattractive pragmatically. This would be true of minority mother tongues and classical languages also in the list.

This modified order of new compromise was not acceptable to the minorities. It was challenged in the court. The High Court of Karnataka struck down the order in January 1989 saying that it violated the Constitution with regard to citizens' rights for equal treatment. The government order did not treat minorities equally because compulsory Kannada gave a natural advantage to its speakers and disadvantage to linguistic minorities, which is admitted implicitly by the provision of grace marks and providing grace marks was arbitrary and liable to abuse. Compulsory Kannada from Grade III at the primary level violates the Constitutional provision for the linguistic minorities to learn their mother tongue at the primary stage. The government's argument about its obligation to provide good education and governance and its right to decide on language education for fulfilling its obligation was accepted by the court. The government was directed to evolve a language policy in education which would respect the rights of the citizens as well as the responsibility of the state (Annamalai 1998). The Government of Karnataka appealed to the Supreme Court of the country against this decision of the High Court but the Supreme Court upheld the decision.

The Government of Karnataka fell in April 1989 and the state came under President's rule. This interim government issued a new order to implement the directive of the High Court, which was as follows:

Secondary Level:

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| First Language: | Kannada, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi, English |
| Second Language: | A language different from the first language must be chosen. If Kannada was not chosen as the first language, it must be chosen as second language. Students whose parents are in temporary residence in the state on a transferable job would be exempted from this stipulation. |
| Third Language: | Kannada, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Malayalam, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindi, English. Third language would start from Grade |

V as the second language but getting pass marks in it would not be not required until Grade VIII. Kannada would be taught as an additional language optionally from Grade III and there would be no annual examination in it. Grace marks would be given to students at the secondary level who had not studied Kannada in the earlier levels.

In this scheme, minority mother tongue students who choose their mother tongue as the first language can choose English only as the third language and when this choice is made they cannot study Hindi at all unless they change from their mother tongue to Kannada as the first language at the secondary level. (They will have the incentive of grace marks and the facility of learning Kannada as a non-examinable subject in the lower grades) To meet the popular demand for English and for learning it for a larger number of years and for the majority and minority language students to study English for the same number of years, the difference in duration between the second language (six years) and the third language (three years) is eliminated. English would be the most favoured third language for the students who did not or could not opt for it as the first or second language. English is attractive enough to nullify the dilution that passing in it is not required in the initial three grades.

Linguistic minorities, however, preferred unhindered choice of English as the second language (when it is not chosen as the first language for any reason). An association of the parents of English medium students filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court against the above order but it was dismissed. The reasoning of the court was that the contention of the government that a student residing and studying in Karnataka must learn the state language was good in principle and that the provision of not making its learning compulsory for linguistic minorities at the primary stage was in consonance with the Constitution.

This prolonged and volatile political debate and action about language choice in education in Karnataka (Rani and Jayakumar 1998) has some features of general importance to the issue of dominant language. What started as a conflict between Kannada and Sanskrit regarding primacy of the majority language became a conflict between Kannada and the minority languages. Only some minority languages participated in the conflict, which makes the issue more political than educational. Though the issue was fought as a minority language rights issue it was really to

constrain the dominance of the majority language by the politically assertive minority groups. This is the reason for these linguistic minorities to uphold English. English is the checkmate to the majority language in the latter's attempt to become dominant. In this struggle, linguistic minorities get support from the English educated elite of the majority language speakers.

The hot debating points like duration of teaching a language, maximum marks for a language, grace marks, not counting marks for passing out of a grade, and equalizing language load are of instrumental value to maintain a competitive edge in the examination oriented education system and to enter higher education and employment that depends crucially on examination marks. It is not that this concern is undesirable or unworthy. But there is a tendency in the controversies about language policy in education to deflect the real educational issue of learning and the suitable medium for meaningful learning. The demand for a place for the minority languages in education becomes merely symbolic when the minorities do not make use of the choice of mother tongue made available to them in the curriculum and instead choose English to improve their competitive edge.

The political objective of the majority to give primacy to their language (Kannada) in education by making it the obligatory first language was reduced to making Kannada the obligatory second language by elevating it from the position of the obligatory third language. The original objective was deflected by the opposition of linguistic minorities to it. The minorities, in their arguments, conceded a major role to Kannada in the state but sought to constrain its emergence as the dominant language at the cost of other languages. In other words, the issue was not monolingual education but the nature of multilingual education with regard to the place of various languages in education. The issue was about the policy of freedom of language choice in education for the residents of the state.

In practice, however, a vast majority of the students including minorities (it is different in border areas within Karnataka and with Urdu speakers) opt for Kannada (by volition or by force of circumstances) as the first language from the primary level, English as the second language and Hindi as the third language. Thus the Three Language Formula is followed in practice. A good percentage of the economically advanced class of students, particularly in urban areas, opt for English as the first language, Kannada as the second language and Hindi as the third language. This dichotomy produces inequality with regard to access to power, wealth and status in the larger society.

It must be pointed out at this point that the government order about language education is binding on the schools run or aided by the government. However, there are schools in the state run by or affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Education of the Government of India, which may or may not include Kannada in the curriculum but do have English and Hindi. The students in these classes are generally from the economically advanced class. These schools, thus, add to the inequality mentioned above.

The role of English in providing an advantage is primarily in the socio-economic domain, derived from the dominance of English in professions, higher education, high level management in business and administration in government and in broadening opportunities at national and international levels. The role of Kannada in the political domain and in the middle and lower level administration in government has increased after the Linguistic State was established, and this role provides access to power, wealth and status of a different kind.

The status of Kannada as the official language of Karnataka is an important factor in the de facto primacy of Kannada in education mentioned above. A certain level of proficiency in Kannada, which is easier to fulfill only through learning it longer at school, is required for employment in the government. Thus the language policy in administration helps the primacy of Kannada in education more than the language policy in education.

The Linguistic State provides political ground and power for the majority language to emerge as the dominant language. But a Linguistic State is, not only demographically but also functionally, a multilingual state, as shown above. The political and historical nature of the linguistic minorities determines the nature of the multilingual functionality in the state, thus functionality includes choice of languages available in the domain of education. The linguistic states in the country then differ in the extent of dominance of the majority language.⁶

NOTES

- 1 This principle was later extended in the case of Nagaland to ethnicity of majority speakers (who speak related but different languages none of which has majority speakers)

- 2 According to the Constitution, any state can choose Hindi to be its official language, but no non-Hindi state other than Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh (along with English) chose it.
- 3 The Congress Party had its regional unit called Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee as early as in 1920
- 4 Interestingly, it does not require that the student must have studied Kannada in school for a certain number of years. The class interest of middle- and upper-class parents comes in here, whose children may not have studied Kannada in central schools, as pointed out later in the chapter
- 5 The old migrants like the Kannada speakers who migrated to Tamil Nadu a few centuries ago are excluded. Those who speak an endogenous minority language of Karnataka like Tulu and Kodagu are included
- 6 This chapter derives from a seminar held at the University of Iowa in 1996

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PART III

**USING CODES
IN MULTILINGUALISM**

100

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF BILINGUAL MIXING

It is a well-attested fact that when two languages are in contact changes take place in one or both of them. These changes are of different orders in different situations. In certain situations a third language or language variety emerges which is different from either of the contact languages. This language is called pidgin and is considered to be the first step in the evolution of a creole. However, recent research has shown that the relation between pidgin and creole is much more complex (Hymes 1971, Pandit 1972a) than the simplistic notion of a creole as the nativization of a pidgin (Bloomfield 1933). The processes of change in the contact languages are pidginization and creolization and they are distinguished respectively from the pidgin and the creole. The outcome of pidginization does not have to be only the pidgin (Samarin 1971: 130ff) and similarly the starting point of creolization does not have to be only the pidgin (Alleyne 1971). Pidginization is a complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising simplification in outer form (structure), reduction in inner form (concept) and restriction in use. Pidgin is one result of such a process that has achieved autonomy as a language. Creolization is a complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising

complication in outer form and extension in use. Creole is one result of such a process that has achieved autonomy as a norm (Hymes 1971: 84).

These processes can be detected in all languages at all times. A study of these processes in the contemporary standard languages and the social contexts, which motivate them, will help us clearly understand the processes as well as their outcomes, which include pidgins and creoles.

This chapter examines a variety of languages spoken by the English-knowing Indians to their counterparts and tries to define its characteristics. The general term 'mixed language' is used for it in this chapter for the convenience of reference without any negative implication. This mixed language is characterized by the large number of English words used in it. These words may be nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives and even some structural items¹ (Chapter 12). This mixing of English words in the mother tongue is a pan-Indian feature. The educated speaker of any Indian language uses English words abundantly when he speaks to another educated person of his own speech community. All the Indian languages seem to share the same range of conditions of the mixing. Though the illustrations given in this chapter are drawn only from Tamil speakers, one can easily find parallels in the speakers of any other Indian language.

This mixed language is considered by the participants in the speech act as a variety of their mother tongue and not as a variety of English. When someone speaks the Tamil variety of this mixed language, another language conscious person may comment 'Are you speaking Tamil?' or 'You are murdering Tamil' and not 'Are you speaking English?' or 'You are murdering English'. It should be therefore differentiated from Butler English, which is considered to be a variety of English and which has certain other characteristics not shared by this mixed language as we shall see.²

This mixed language is a product of language contact but is not a product of an inter-lingual communication situation, which is a source for pidginization and the emergence of pidgin. It is not the result of trying to approximate a target language. It is not used for interlingual communication as the pidgins are. It is used to communicate with the members of the same speech community with similar social status, which is on the upper side. The prestige this mixed language has in society is uncertain. Pidgins usually have low prestige. If the prestige of a dialect is measured in terms of its value in the social advance of its speaker (Weinreich 1953: 79), the mixed language can be said to have prestige, since the amount of mixing corresponds with the level of education and is an indicator of membership in the elite group. This correspondence explains why even

a person with little or no education tries to throw in a few English words in his speech to sound educated when his economic status improves. If the prestige of the dialect is defined in terms of the value the speakers give to it as an ideal to be adored, this mixed language, which is considered contaminated and not allowed in the formal variety of Tamil, has low prestige. (The double standard of the value system of the middle class is thus evidenced in its linguistic behaviour also).

This mixed language shares an important characteristic feature of the pidgin, which is defined as a language whose sentence structure is derived from the mother tongue of its speaker and whose vocabulary is from the target language. It has sentences whose syntax is that of the mother tongue but most or all the vocabulary is from English. The following examples will illustrate this.

- (1) *Trivandrum Express one hour late.*
The Trivandrum Express is late by an hour
- (2) *Tamil Association President oru corrupt fellow.*
The President of the Tamil Association is a corrupt fellow.
- (3) *nii love-paNNura poNNu rich girl-aa?*
Is the girl you love rich?
- (4) *enga father-kku two brothers, two sisters.*
My father has two brothers and two sisters.

There is no copula in (1). There is no genitive marker in (2) and the order of the words defines the modifier and the modified. The relative clause precedes the head noun in (3) and there is no change in the word order to make the interrogative. The inalienable possession is expressed in (4) with the possessor marked for the dative case and the possessed not marked for any case without a verb. All these are features of Tamil syntax.

It is similar to incipient pidgin in its indeterminacy. The words taken from the English language differ from speaker to speaker and even in the same speaker from time to time. Even the same sentence repeated after a few seconds may not have the same words from English.

However, English, from which the vocabulary is drawn, is not the target language in the sense that the speaker tries to have control and communicate in that language as mentioned earlier. It may be called the source language from which the speakers draw and modify their speech.

This mixed language, however, differs from pidgin in another crucial aspect, which makes it ineligible to be called a pidgin. Unlike pidgin

there is neither simplification in structure nor reduction in concepts nor restriction in use or function in this mixed language. On the contrary, it has a complicated structure, expanded concepts and extended use or function, which are the defining characteristics of a creole according to Hymes (1971: 84). The extension of use can be seen in the great number of topics, intellectual as well as banal, it is used to talk about. It can also be seen in the number of contexts like hostels, offices, playgrounds and other common places where it is used.

This mixed language, particularly its vocabulary,³ conceals the social and regional identity of the speaker and thus has a standardizing (i.e., neutralizing) function. For example, there are many 'caste dialect' words in Tamil like *maccan*, *attimbeer* for *brother-in-law*, whose use immediately betrays the caste of the speaker. So the educated speaker when speaking in a mixed group to another person invariably uses the word *brother-in-law*. Similarly, a speaker who neither wants to use *saadam* and be labelled a Sanskritist nor wants to use *sooru* and be labelled a purist and/or a low caste chooses to use *rice*. Since the Tamil word *manaivi* is too formal and *peNDaaTTi* is too colloquial, their English equivalent *wife* is invariably used. The use of English words like *urine*, *intercourse*, *barber* instead of their native equivalents, which are taboo words, gives certain amount of detachability from the topic to the speaker.

This mixed language also has the identifying function like any dialect when it labels its speaker as belonging to the educated class. (Note that the identity is the class identity and not the traditional caste identity). But as mentioned earlier, it serves as a model of imitation for those who do not belong to this class but want to be counted in it. Hence, it enjoys the status of a prestigious dialect.

Expansion of concepts is found in the increased vocabulary. Words from the source language are used to express a large number of new concepts. Generic terms like *furniture* and specific terms like the colour names *brown*, *dark brown* and *light brown*, which were hitherto non-existent in the mother tongue are used in this mixed language.

The complication of structure is in the larger inventory of phonemes and in the variation at phonological, lexical and syntactic levels. The words from the source language are pronounced as they are there. This introduces a new set of phonemes—in fact, all phonemes of the source language—in addition to the phonemes of the base language in this mixed language. Moreover, the integrated loans from the source language and the proper names in the base language are pronounced either as they are

in the source language or as they are in the base language, thus introducing variation in the phonological system of the mixed language. For example, coffee may be pronounced either as *kaafi* or *kaapi*. The words *Trivandrum* and *Tamil* in (1) and (2) may be pronounced either as *trivaendrAm* or *tiruvanandaburam* and *tæmil* or *tamiZ* respectively. At the lexical level, the speaker has a choice of using either a word from the source language or from his mother tongue, thus providing variation. For example, in (4) he may use either *father* or *appaa*. The word in the mother tongue may have historically come from the source language and been assimilated into the system of the mother tongue and this makes no difference in variation. The alternation between *sinimaa* and *movie* is parallel to the above example.⁴

Certain concepts may be expressed through different constructions in the source language and the base language. The speaker of the mixed language uses both constructions depending on whether he uses the words from the source language or the mother tongue. The constructions in the source language may not, however, be foreign to the mother tongue of the speaker. But they are not used to express particular concepts and those concepts are expressed in a different way in the mother tongue. Both of them coexist in this mixed language. The following are a few examples:

- (5) *en daughter tan friends-e romba miss-paNNuraa*
My daughter misses her friends very much

The word order of this sentence is subject-object-verb as in Tamil and its syntax is perfectly Tamil but the particular concept is not expressed through this construction in Tamil. It is expressed in the following way or in a similar way:

- (6) *en maga tan naNbargaL nenevaavee irukkaa*
(lit) My daughter is always in the thought of her friends

Note that in (6) there is no direct object whereas there is one in (5).

Similarly, the cases are different in (7), a mixed sentence and in (8), its Tamil equivalent. Where the former has the subject *nii* 'you' in the nominative and the direct object *ade* 'it (acc.)' in the accusative, the latter has the indirect object *onakku* 'to you' in the dative and subject *adu* 't' in the nominative.

- (7) *nii ade reach-paNNa muDiyumaa?*
Can you reach it?
- (8) *onakku adu eTTumma?*
(1t) Is it reachable to you? i.e., Is it within your reach?

Thus there is more than one structure in this mixed language to express the same concept thus, adding to it's complexity.

It must be remembered that complication of structure, expansion of concepts and the extension of function in the case of a creole are to be interpreted in relation to its earlier stage as pidgin, though it is not stated explicitly in Hymes (1971). The complication, expansion and extension in the case of this mixed language, on the other hand, are in comparison with the standard language, viz., the mother tongue of the speaker. Even though the standard language from which the mixed language originates is not a restricted system like the pidgin, there is certainly complication, expansion and extension in this mixed language

These processes are natural in the development of any living language. It is therefore necessary to pinpoint the ways in which complication of structure, expansion of concepts and extension of function differ in creolization resulting in a creole and in standard languages. The crucial difference seems to be in the sociological background in which these processes take place. These processes in standard languages can be called creolization only at the risk of the concept of creolization losing its sociological meaning.

The happening of these processes in this mixed language is compared here with the development of creole because the mixed language is also born in a language contact (i.e., bilingual) situation, though, as said earlier, it is not a result of trying to speak with a person of another language or to approximate a target language. This mixed language, nevertheless, lacks an important feature of creole and so cannot be called a creole. It is not the first language of any of its speakers. It is an auxiliary language or variety acquired later. Even the children of educated parents, who use the mixed language all the time, do not seem to acquire it from the parents, at least as it is used by them. The peer group from whom they learn their language mix differently from adults.

The mixing cannot be considered relexification (Steward 1962) though the vocabulary of the source language is certainly large, unless the definition of relexification is extended to cover standard languages also. It cannot be called relexification in the sense in which relexification has been defined, because the base language syntax was not originally filled

with the vocabulary of another language and then secondly replaced with the vocabulary of the source language under consideration. The base language here is not a creole but a standard and its words do not belong to any other source language. By the current definition, the replacement of French words, which are used exactly the same way in the speech of the educated Tamil speakers of Pondicherry, a former French territory, into English after independence can be called relexification. Here again it is not relexification of a creole but a relexification of a mixed language. This shows that relexification is not a process peculiar to creoles alone.

This mixed language is like *koinés* in its incorporation of features from more than one speech and its undetachability from or continuity with the base language (Samarin 1971: 133) i.e., in its being identified as Tamil. The second characteristic mentioned above differentiates the *koiné*, as well as this mixed language, from the pidgin. However, *koinés* are characterized by their incorporation of features from several regional varieties of a single language (*ibid.*) and not from two different languages. This may indicate that the distinction between dialect and language is arbitrary from the functional point of view. More work is needed on the development of established *koinés* from the point of view of their social function like standardization to make a fruitful comparison between the *koiné* and this mixed language.

Code switching has been defined as 'the successive alternate use of two different language codes within the same discourse; it implies that the speaker is conscious of the switch' (Diebold Jr. 1968: 52). If the consciousness is about the change in the social situation or in the topic of the discourse (Gumperz and Bloom 1971: 274ff), the mixing described here is not code switching, since the mixing takes place when these are constant. The speaker might choose this mixed language when it is appropriate to the social situation or the topic and the choosing of this code—the mixed language—is code switching. But there are two codes—English and the Indian language—within this code. The amount and the kinds of the items mixed are not predetermined except for the general restrictions and the mixing takes place during the speech act. The mixed items may be words, phrases, clauses or even sentences. This active alternate use of items from two codes in a constant speech context may be called code mixing.

Code mixing is not borrowing in the ordinary sense of this term since the borrowed words are assimilated to the system of the recipient language. They are learnt as part of the first or the base language. The words

of the source language in this mixed language can be said to be appended to the vocabulary of the recipient language as a stepney rather than integrated to it (Chapter 12). The extremely high percentage of foreign words and the high degree of indeterminacy in their use from speaker to speaker make the mixing a special kind of borrowing, if at all it can be considered borrowing. It is exactly this speciality which we tried to characterize and contrast with the other outcomes of language contact situations to obtain a clear understanding of all of them. It might be revealing to fix the various outcomes in a taxonomy of language varieties based on their origin and social role (Hymes 1971: 83). However, it emerged in the above discussions that there are many overlapping features between the varieties and it might be difficult to put them in neat, mutually exclusive boxes. Nevertheless, it became clear that the social characteristics of these language varieties also help to define the differences between them in addition to their linguistic characteristics.

It will be instructive to see the reasons for the different outcomes of language contact and the different levels of stabilization they have achieved. Most of them seem to be sociological. The reason for the use of a large amount of words from another language in this mixed language is not purely linguistic. This is clear from the fact that most of them are not used to fill a lexical vacuum (which again is created for reasons of cultural innovation and contact). The answer to the question whether this mixed language will be stabilized (i.e., will get rid of alternation), along the lines of, for example the literary Malayalam, which has a high percentage of words of Sanskrit origin, or will pass out as the *maNipraVaLa* style of Tamil, which in its extreme had Sanskrit words superimposed largely on Tamil syntax and interspersed with Tamil suffixes and which was the style of religious and other literary commentary writing in Tamil in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries can be found only in the sociology of language use and engineering and in the psychology of language attitude.⁵

NOTES

- 1 *try-paNNu*, etc., are examples of mixing the verb. These are different from *business paNNu* 'do business', etc. The fact that the accusative case sign can be optionally added to *business* and not to *try* shows that the former is a noun and the latter is not. It is a verb to which the dummy verb meaning 'do' is added as a carrier of tense and person-number-gender suffixes.

- 2 The language of the uneducated worker, say a motor mechanic, which has a lot of English words related to his work is different from the mixed language we are talking about here. In this language the speaker has no choice of words and the English words he uses are assimilated to the system of his mother tongue. Similarly, the use of English words by an educated speaker in the language of the addressee, who is not proficient in English, is different from the mixing we are talking about. This is a bilingual communication situation and the English words are used only when the speaker does not have the equivalents in the addressee language and their use will decrease as the speaker's proficiency in the addressee language increases.
- 3 A sentence itself from English is mixed for a slightly different but related purpose. When a reference is made to a person whom the speaker hesitates to refer to with either the honorific form (because it gives him too high a status) or the non-honorific form (because it gives him too low a status), he may opt for the neutral English sentence.
- 4 The parenthetical use of English words like *vakkiram adaavadu* (i.e.,) *perversion* is different since it is explicatory, redundant and superimposed.
5. This chapter was originally presented as a paper in the Seminar on Social Stratification and Language Behaviour organized by the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla in 1973.

LEXICAL INSERTION IN A MIXED LANGUAGE

Educated Tamils abundantly mix English words and phrases with Tamil in their conversations with their counterparts. This phenomenon, however, is not peculiar to Tamil and has been observed in all Indian languages. Shanmugam Pillai's (1967) earlier study on the subject is concerned with classifying the superficial grammatical categories of the English words mixed with Tamil and correlating them with the superficial grammatical context of Tamil.¹ This chapter attempts to study the nature of this mixture from a transformational point of view with concerns about deep level relations and its implications for the theory of grammar—specifically for the claims about the semantic nature of the selectional properties and the hierarchic semantic structure of lexical items.²

Here are some representative examples to indicate the nature of this mixture. English nouns are used with no change. When verbs are used or other grammatical forms in English are used as verbs in Tamil the verb *paNnu* 'do' is added to them to carry the tense and concord suffixes. This doubly verb morphologically carries the tense and concord suffixes of Tamil. Thus the morphological idiosyncrasies in the conjugation of

English verbs are not carried over when they are used in Tamil. For example, *improve*-paNNU 'improve', *type*-paNNU 'type', *copy*-paNNU 'make a copy', *smile*-paNNU 'smile', *nice*-paNNU 'do something to please', *on*-paNNU 'turn on', etc. With inchoative verbs, the verb *aagu* 'come to be' is added—*improve*-aagu 'improve (intransitive verb)', *fail*-aagu 'fail (intransitive verb)', *cool*-aagu 'get cooled', *full*-aagu 'get filled up', *out*-aagu 'get out of (the boundary as in a ball game or secrecy as question papers)', etc. The causative of this verb, viz, *aakku* 'cause to be' is also added. For example, *improve*-aakku 'improve (intransitive verb)', *fail*-aakku 'fail (intransitive verb)', *out*-aakku 'cause on to go outside (the boundary as in a ball game) or cause something to come out (of secrecy like question papers)', etc. Verbalizing auxiliary verbs like *aDi* 'hit' may also be added, but the English word syntactically functions as a noun. paNNU 'do' can be used instead of *aDi* 'hit' with or without any semantic difference. *type*-paNNU is semantically same as *type*-aDi 'type', but *copy*-paNNU means 'make a copy' and *copy*-aDi 'copy somebody or something, imitate'. When adverbs with no suffix are used the adverbial suffix *-aa* is added to them and when adverbs with the suffix *-ly* are used it is replaced by *-aa*. For example, *fast*-aa 'fast', *late*-aa 'late', *sudden*-aa 'suddenly', *quick*-aa 'quickly', etc.³ When predicative adjectives are used the adverbial suffix *-aa*⁴ is added to them as they are in Tamil—*tall*-aa '(is) tall', *interested*-aa '(is) interested', *interesting*-aa '(is) interesting', *confusing*-aa '(is) confusing', etc. When English uses a gerund as the predicate Tamil uses the noun form of it also with the suffix *-aa* added. For example, *interest*-aa '(is) interesting', *confusion*-aa '(is) confusing'. When adjectives are used, the adjectival suffix *-aana* is added to them—*intelligent*-aana payyan 'intelligent boy'. The English adjective is commonly used along with the English head noun—*jaan intelligent boy* 'John is an intelligent boy'.

The use of English words and phrases in the educated Tamil speech is flexible in that their number varies for different speakers and in different situations. Though their use is abundant, it is not absolutely free. For example, nouns like *rain* as in **rain* penjudu 'it rained', verbs like *know*-paNNU 'know', *go*-paNNU 'go', *buy*-paNNU 'buy', adverbs like *good*-aa 'well' and adjectives like *good*-aana 'good', *big*-aana 'big' are not used. English pronouns, personal as well as interrogative, and quantifiers are not mixed. And the 'grammatical words and suffixes' are never mixed except the preposition *to* in contexts like *pattu to panireNDu* 'ten to twelve'. There are also restrictions on the mixture depending on the particular structure in which the lexical tem

As illustrated by (1)

finish can occur in the place of *muDi* 'finish' if its object is a simple noun phrase but not if it is a sentence.

- (1) a. naan inda pustagatte muDiccuTTeen →
 naan inda pustagatte *finish*-paNNuTTeen
 'I finished this book'
 b. naan inda pustagatte paDiccu muDiccuTTeen →
 *naan inda pustagatte paDiccu *finish*-paNNuTTeen
 'I have finished reading this book'

Given that the elements of a sentence are organized in a tree-like structure with lexical items as the terminal nodes, the first question that arises in the study of language mixture is whether they are mapped directly on to the semantic material or on to the lexical items. Support for the first claim comes from the fact that there are some cases where the insertion of an English item is apparently not possible because there is no corresponding Tamil item. For example, English *sad* is used in Tamil in only the first of its two meanings (viz., 'have a feeling or sensation' or 'cause one to have it') but *warm* is used in both meanings. This is simply because there are two lexical items for the two meanings of *warm* in Tamil but there is a lexical item for only the first meaning of *sad*.

- (2) a. jaan varuttamaa irukkaan →
 jaan *sad*-aa irukkaan
 'John is sad'
 b. *inda pustagam varuttamaa irukku →
 *inda pustagam *sad*-aa irukku
 'This book is sad'
- (3) a. taNNi veduveduNNu irukku →
 taNNi *warm*-aa irukku
 'The water is warm'
 b. coat kadakadaNNu irukku →
 coat *warm*-aa irukku
 'The coat is warm'

But the absence of the second meaning of *sad* in Tamil may not be due to the absence of a lexical item for it but may be due to the absence of a rule of implicational relationship (McCawley 1968a: 130) in Tamil. There is another case where the absence of a transformational rule is for the impossibility of using an English item. Consider (4)

The English word *no one* is not used in Tamil not because Tamil does not have a word for it but because it cannot have it due to the absence of the rule that attaches the negative to the quantifier *anyone* providing semantic material for *no one* to be mapped on to.

- (4) a. *meeting-kku yaarum varale*
 ‘*Any one didn’t come to the meeting’
 b. **meeting-kku no one vandaanga*
 ‘No one came to the meeting’

Thus in both cases certain semantic material is not created due to the absence of certain rules for the lexical item, be it Tamil or English, to be mapped on to.

There is good evidence for the second claim, viz., the foreign items are mapped on to the semantic material directly. First, there are numerous cases where the English item is used when no corresponding Tamil item exists.

- (5) a. *jaan romba aggressive* ‘John is very aggressive’
 b. *jaan popular-aa irundaan* ‘John was popular’
 c. *jaan blunt-aa padil sonnan* ‘John replied bluntly’
 d. *jaan enne prefer-paNNuraan* ‘John prefers me’

Second, the English item does not replace the Tamil item in an idiom. This is because idioms behave like single semantic units. This is shown by the fact that transformational rules do not operate on the elements inside an idiom. For example, *en muukku* ‘my nose’ in (6a) cannot be relativized. If mixing takes place at the terminal node level after the lexical items have been inserted, there is no a priori reason for a Tamil word not to be replaced by an English word.

- (6) a. *jaan en muukke aruttuTTaan*
 (literally) ‘John cut my nose’
 b. **jaan en nose-e aruttuTTaan*
 c. **jaan en muukke cut-paNNiTTaan*
 d. *?jaan en nose-e cut-paNNiTTaan*
- (7) a. *jaan en kaale vaariviTTuTTaan*
 (literally) ‘John pulled my leg’
 (idiomatically) ‘John pulled the rug under me’

- b. *jaan en *leg-e vaarivi*TTuTTan
 *jaan en kaale *pull-paNNivi*TTuTTaan
 *jaan en *leg-e pull-paNNivi*TTuTTaan

The structure into which the English item is inserted is obviously a Tamil one. The left-oriented order of constituents in Tamil is retained even when an English item is used. The syntax is Tamil syntax. A classic example of this is the following where all words except one are English but the syntax is typically Tamil.

- (8) iNNekki *blue mountain express one hour late*
 'Blue mountain express is late by an hour today'

English words are used in structures impossible in English.

- (9) enakku *paricce pass-aay*TTudu
 *'The exam is passed for me' 'I passed the exam'

The case relationships of the Tamil verb are not altered when the English verb is used in its place even if the latter has different case relationships in English.

- (10) a. naan jaane *school-le admit-paNNuneen*
 '*I admitted John in the school'
 b. *naan jaane *school-ukku admit-paNNuneen*
 'I admitted John to the school'
- (11) a. naan jaane *revenge-paNNa pooreen*
 '*I am going to revenge John'
 b. *naan jaan mееle *revenge-paNNa pooreen*
 'I am going to take revenge on John'

There are some apparent counterexamples where the case seems to have been changed as required by the English verb.

- (12) a. naan jaanukku *lanjam kuDutteen* 'I gave bribe to John'
 b. naan jaane *bribe-paNNuneen* 'I bribed John'

jaan in (12a) is in the dative case as required by the Tamil verb *kuDu* 'give' but in (12b) it is in the active case as required by the English

verb *bribe*. If (12a) and (b) are identical, a case change has taken place and it has been initiated by the insertion of the English verb. But they are not identical and the semantic material underlying *lanjam kuDu* 'give bribe' and *bribe* cannot be equated. This is supported by the difference in their behaviour as shown by (13).

- (13) a. naan jaanukku pattu ruubaa lanjam kuDutteen
 'I gave a bribe of ten rupees to John'
 b. *naan jaane pattu ruubaa *bribe*-paNNuneen
 '*I bribed John of 10 rupees'

(13) has corresponding pairs of sentences like

- (14) a. naan jaanukku muttam kuDutteen—
 naan jaanku *kiss* kuDutteen
 'I gave a kiss to John'
 b. naan jaane muttamiTTeen—
 naan jaane *kiss*-paNNuneen
 'I kissed John'

The difference between (12) and (13) is that there is no verb, simple or compound in Tamil for *bribe* similar to *muttamiDu* 'kiss' for the semantic material underlying *bribe* and so only the English verb could be mapped on to it. Since the underlying semantic material for *lanjam kuDu* 'give bribe' and *bribe* are not the same, the cases required by them are different. The following is another example of a slightly different kind of identification.

- (15) a. enmeele paRi pooDaade 'Don't put the blame on me'
 b. enne *blame*-paNNaade 'Don't blame me'

(15a) has the locative case and (15b) has the accusative case. But to equate (15a) and (b) is wrong because they are semantically different. (15b) is equivalent to (c), which also has the accusative case.

- c. enne kore sollaade 'Don't blame me'

The structure of the complement sentences is not altered as required by the English item. For example, the English verbs *expect* and *prefer* have two possible complementizers. Tamil has only one. viz. that-

complementizer or *poss-ing-complementizer* and the infinitive with raised subject Tamil does not have subject raising and the resulting infinitive complement. It has only *that-complementizer* and *gerundive complementizer*. The former goes with the verb *edirpaaru* 'expect'. There is no lexical equivalent to *prefer* but the semantic material for it must be available and it must take the *gerundive complementizer*. When English verbs are mixed, the complementizer is according to the Tamil system.

- (16) a. naan jaan inge varuvaaN*Nu expect*-paNN*NikkiTTurukkeen*
 'I am expecting that John will come here'
 b. *naan jaan inge vara *expect*-paNN*NikkiTTurukkeen*
 'I am expecting John to come here'
- (17) a. naan jaan inge varrade *prefer*-paNN*Nureen*
 'I prefer John coming over here'
 b. *naan jaan inge vara *prefer*-paNN*Nureen*
 'I prefer John to come over here'

Selectional restrictions true of Tamil verbs apply to English verbs also even if the latter have different restrictions in English. For example, the Tamil verb *puri* 'understand' does not take animate objects. Nor does the English verb *understand* inserted in its place in a Tamil sentence

- (18) a. enakku kade *understand-aagale*
 'I didn't understand the story'
 b. *enakku jaan *understand-aagale*
 'I didn't understand John'

These facts show that selectional restrictions—selection of complementizers, selection of concurring elements—are not determined by the lexical items but by the semantic material underlying the lexical items, actual or potential. This makes the question whether the selectional features of a lexical item are carried over when it is used in a foreign language vacuous. This is required if the selectional properties are to be semantic.

The semantic material on which a lexical item is mapped need not be under one node in the beginning. It could be brought under one node by certain transformations. One language may have many lexical items for the pieces of the semantic material under different nodes and another language may have one lexical item for the combined semantic material. We can observe this phenomenon when English words are mixed with

been inserted. This is supported by the following fact about the insertion of English lexical items in Tamil. The action nominal in Tamil is formed by nominalizing the final verb with the suffix *-adu* 'it' with no other syntactic change in the sentence nominalized. The corresponding form in English is the gerund. However, the English item used in place of the Tamil action nominal is not the gerund but the verb nominalized in the Tamil way.

- (22) a. *idu piLLegaLe eematturadu illeyaa* →
idu piLLegaLe cheat-pannuradu illeyaa
**idu piLLegaLe cheating illeyaa*
 'Is it not cheating children?'
 b. *high way-le veegamaa car ooTTuradu leesu* →
high way-le veegamaa drive-paNNuradu leesu
**high way-le veegamaa driving leesu*
 'Driving fast in the high way is easy'

The fact that the English gerund is not used for the action nominal can be explained by saying that the English verb is inserted before the nominalization of the verb takes place and that the nominalization transformation operates afterwards on the Tamil dummy verb added to the English verb.

However, the gerund which is a derived nominal is used in the place of a derived nominal in Tamil. These derived nominals take noun attributes.

- (23) a. *idu periya eemaattu illeyaa* →
idu periya cheating illeyaa
**idu periya cheat-paNNuradu illeyaa*
 '(literally) Is it not a big cheating?'
 b. *high way driving leesu*
**high way drive-paNNuradu leesu*
 'High way driving is easy'

(Tamil does not have a lexical item equivalent to the derived nominal *driving*) It appears that, in the case of derived nominals, we have two explanations. If the transformationalist position (Lees 1960) that the derived nominals are transforms of full sentences is true, then the insertion of the English noun must take place after nominalization and other subsequent structural changes like changing the verb attributes to noun

attributes. If the lexicalist position (Chomsky 1970) that the derived nominals are introduced as nouns by the base is true, then the nouns must be there non-derivationally

Whatever the solution might be, it is clear that the study of the interaction of the lexical items of one language on another could throw light on the organization and mechanisms of the grammar and open new avenues of grammatical research in bilingualism.

NOTES

- 1 Even for this superficial comparison he fails to find some criterion like the following to determine the exact grammatical category of the English verb used in Tamil. When paNnu 'do' is added to a noun, the noun may be its object and can have the accusative case marker *business* paNnu—*business-e* paNnu 'do business'. This is not true when paNnu is added to a verb like *cook* to give *cook-paNnu*—**cook-e* paNnu 'cook'. We may conclude by such evidence that *cook* in Tamil is used as a verb even though it is both a noun and a verb in English. It would be wrong to either equate *cook* in the above example with a noun or to say that a verb in English is used as a noun in Tamil before paNnu.
- 2 These issues in Generative Semantics in the late 1960s are not topical now. The point of this chapter, however, is that properties of the mixed language throw light on theoretical issues raised in the grammatical analysis of idealized homogenous languages
- 3 All English adverbs take -aa irrespective of whether their equivalents in Tamil have it or not. *sukram*(aa)—*quick*-aa 'quickly', *tiDiinu*—*sudden*-aa 'suddenly', *muZusum*—*complete*-aa 'completely', *toDandu*—*continuous*-aa 'continuously'.
- 4 This is not really a suffix and can be derived from an infinitive clause having various relationships with the main sentence, as shown in Annamalai (1969)

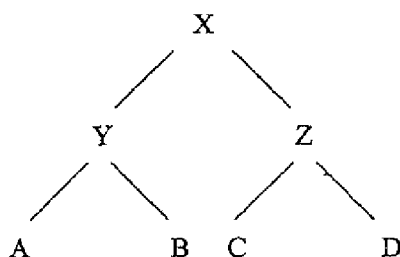
FACTORS IN CODE MIXING

Mixed code is now accepted by linguists as a natural phenomenon of bilingualism, governed by rules like any natural language. This is the result of increasing research on mixed codes in their linguistic, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic aspects (see bibliographies in Kachru 1978; Sridhar and Sridhar 1980), and India is an early and notable contributor to this research, whose linguists themselves are mixed-code users.

13.1 UNIVERSAL CONSTRAINTS

Though the extent of coverage of languages in code mixing research is rather limited, some universal constraints on code mixing have been proposed in the literature (Pfaff 1976 1979 Poplack 1978 1981 Sridhar and Sridhar 1980 and other works cited by them). In spite of the counter

the underlying conceptual problems, universal constraints are likely to exist if code mixing is a universal phenomenon in the sense that any bilingual can mix his or her languages and any two languages can be mixed.¹ The existence of universal constraints follows also from the assumption that the mixed code has the properties of a natural language. The assumed linguistic properties of the mixed code are (a) mixing is governed by the levels of grammatical units such as word level, clause level, and so on, (b) it is sensitive to syntactic constituents like noun phrase and verb phrase; and (c) it is a variable with reference to word classes such as nouns and verbs. The first is an organizational property, the second is a configurational property and the third is a classificatory property. There are constraints which prohibit mixing within a word or a phrase, which illustrate the first property (Poplack 1978, 1981). There are constraints, which prohibit partial mixing across constituents, which illustrate the second property (Chapter 12). For example, in a structure like



while A, B, C, D could be individually mixed, AB together and CD together could be mixed, or all of ABCD could be mixed, AC, AD, BC, BD cannot be mixed unitarily (that is, when a language has unitary expressions for these combinations). There are constraints which stipulate that mixing will follow a hierarchy of word classes, which illustrate the third property. For example, if verbs are mixed, nouns will be mixed, and mixing will include more items in the noun class than in the verb class (Poplack 1978, 1981).

Any discussion of universal properties warrants an exclusive definition of the phenomenon which the universal properties characterize. Otherwise, it will not be possible to decide whether the attested counterexample is an instance of the phenomenon under consideration or an instance of a different phenomenon.

13.2 SWITCHING AND MIXING

The elements of one language can be found with the elements of another language in a number of linguistic processes arising out of languages in contact, such as borrowing, diffusion, convergence, pidginization, creolization, switching and mixing. Each of these processes has different sociolinguistic and linguistic characteristics (Chapter 16). Switching and mixing are marked by the two characteristics mentioned below. No new grammar is created beyond the grammars of the two languages involved, as one of them is glued to the other without changing it; and the mixed code (and the bigrammar) is indeterminate and is created anew by each speaker in each speech act and is not transmitted across generations. Switching, on the other hand, takes place when there is a change in the speech event. The difference between switching and mixing is that in mixing the speech event is constant, with no variation in participants or topic, and the participants have knowledge of both languages. Moreover, mixing is commonly done in the duration of a unit of grammar. Switching, on the other hand, is commonly done in the duration of a unit of discourse. A bilingual speaker may choose a mixed code in a particular social context, in which case all sentences in the entire discourse may be mixed. Since actual mixing is indeterminate, it is possible for an unmixed sentence to follow a mixed sentence. Switching may take place between mixed codes and is not restricted to unmixed codes alone. The switch may be, for instance, from mother tongue mixed with other tongue to other tongue mixed with mother tongue. These make it difficult to distinguish between mixing and switching based on linguistic elements alone. Broadly speaking, mixing is a linguistic strategy to give effect to communicative intent, primarily involving social meanings (including the one of social value as in mixing the standard dialect). Switching is a discourse strategy in cooperative communication that reflects preferred language choice for the topic of the conversation, which may be changing, or for the set of participants in the speech event, who may be changing or whose relation may change at a particular point in the conversation.

While switching is found only in balanced and stable bilinguals, mixing can be found in all bilinguals including incipient and attrited bilinguals. Mixing is largely motivated by the need to fill gaps in the linguistic competence of the speaker in incipient and attrited bilinguals (in contrast with mixing in balanced and stable bilinguals). To that extent,

mixing is determined in these types of bilinguals. The constraints on mixing are not likely to be the same in stable, incipient, and attrited bilinguals. It will be interesting to compare the data for these three types of bilinguals to discover which features they have and do not have in common.

13.3 LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Bilingualism is found in different age groups. A 'bilingual' child below two years does not distinguish between codes. Use of elements from two languages in this child's speech is not mixing at all from the speaker's point of view because of the absence of code differentiation. There is evidence of a declining rate of mixing as the child's linguistic competence grows, as reported by Redlinger (1976) in his study of bilingual children in Spanish and English. At stage I, mixing was in the range of 20 per cent to 30 per cent; at stage II, 12 per cent to 20 per cent, at stage III 6 per cent to 12 per cent; and at stage IV and V, 2 per cent to 6 per cent. This does not mean that when the child reaches the stage of balanced bilingualism there will be no mixing. Balanced adult bilinguals do mix codes. But the functions of mixing for adults, such as expression of social identity of the speaker (Southworth 1980), social distance from the interlocutor (Dua 1986), psychological distance from the subject matter (Sridhar 1978), avoidance of marked features in linguistic forms which carry social meaning (Chapter 11), may not be equally important to the child. As they are different qualitatively, mixing by the child bilingual and the adult bilingual may be different quantitatively also.

Redlinger (1976) points out that in the speech of some bilingual children the most frequent part of speech occurring as a substituted element in mixed utterances is the noun, followed by the adverb, article, pronoun, verb, adjective, preposition, and conjunction. The order in the mixed code of adults (Poplack 1978) is noun, adjective, adverb, verb, conjunction. There are similarities between the child and the adult: the noun is the most frequent, the adjective is less frequent than the noun, the adverb is more frequent than the verb, functor words are less frequent than the other

Nevertheless, there are differences also. The place of the verb in the order is particularly interesting. Redlinger (1976) further points out that in children, phrasal mixtures constitute only a small number of the total mixed utterances. Much of the mixing is at the lexical level. In adult speech, phrase-level mixing does not appear to form such a negligible percentage. In Poplack's study (1978), single nouns constitute 30 per cent of the mixes and noun phrases 22 per cent. Both verbs and verb phrases make up 3 per cent of mixes. Statistical studies on mixing at different linguistic levels by children and adults of stable bilingualism involving the same languages will throw light on this question of differences.

13.4 LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

Besides the variable of age, the variable of language competence also plays a role in determining the nature and extent of mixing. The balanced bilingual maintains the grammatical status of the mixed element in the source language (SL), and thus the morphosyntactic pattern of SL is also maintained. The unbalanced bilingual, on the other hand, makes the SL element conform to the morphosyntactic pattern of the base language (BL). Let me illustrate this with examples from Tamil mixed with English (T<E), where Tamil is BL and English is SL. In descriptive predicates, English uses the past participle or gerundive after *be* verb and Tamil uses the noun + adverbial marker before *be* verb. In the mixed code of a balanced bilingual, whose competence in English is good, the Tamil adverbial marker is added to the English participial form. In the case of an unbalanced bilingual, whose competence in English is not adequate, the adverbial marker is added to the nominal form of the English word, as in Tamil. The balanced bilingual may use the second construction also, but the unbalanced bilingual does not use the first one.

- (1) BB. *ellaam confused-aa irundadu*
 UB. *ellaam confusion-aa irundadu*
 all adv was
 Everything was confused.

- (2) BB. kade *interesting*-aa irundadu
 UB. kade *interest*-aa irundadu
 story adv was
 'The story was interesting.'

Tamil derives verbs from nouns by adding the verb *paNNu* 'do' as in *vyaabaaram paNNu* 'do business', *kalyaaNam paNNu* 'do marriage, marry'. When the English verb is mixed in Tamil by balanced bilinguals, the verbal form of the English word is used with the dummy verb *paNNu* 'do' to carry inflection. The unbalanced bilinguals use the nominal form of the verb, which goes with the Tamil pattern.

- (3) BB. avan enne *confuse*-paNNiTtaan
 UB. avan enne *confusion* paNNiTtaan
 he me did
 'He confused me.'
- (4) BB. onakku oru eDam *reserve*-paNNirukkeen
 UB. onakku oru eDam *reservation*-paNNirukkeen
 'I have reserved a place for you.'

Poplack (1978) notes that there are systematic differences in code mixing between balanced and unbalanced bilinguals in Spanish and English. The unbalanced bilinguals have better competence in Spanish, their mother tongue, than in English, their second language. They mix Spanish with English (S<E). Based on three types of code mixing hierarchically organized as tag-like (interjections), sentential, and intra-sentential mixing, her generalization about the differences is that the frequency of mixing decreases in the above order for the unbalanced bilinguals. She attributes this to the code mixers' relative lack of competence in the other tongue and hypothesizes that progressively higher linguistic competence is required from extra-sentential, sentential to intra-sentential mixing.

13.5 LANGUAGE STATUS

It is revealing to compare this generalization based on mixing the mother tongue with the other tongue (MT<OT) by the unbalanced bilingual with

the pattern of mixing of the other tongue with the mother tongue (OT<MT) by the balanced bilinguals. The balanced bilingual mixes his MT with OT (MT<OT) more than vice versa (Pfaff 1979). When he or she mixes OT with MT (OT<MT)² the frequency of mixing is low, and is perhaps restricted to nouns, in intra-sentential mixing. It increases in sentential mixing and increases further in extra-sentential mixing. The following examples of mixing English (OT) with an Indian language (MT) illustrate this. While (5a) is not possible and (6) is odd, though used at times, (7) is common. Mixing of nouns as in (5b), however, is common in intra-sentential mixing.

- (5) a. *she *taaLi*-ed sambar
 **taaLiccaa*
 seasoned (a sauce)
 'She seasoned sambar'
- b. I went to my *periyappaa*'s house
 paternal uncle
 'I went to my uncle's house.'
- (6) a. If you pray to God, *oru kaSTamum varaadu*
 any hardship come-not
 'If you pray to God, you will have no hardship.'
- b. I saw a girl in the bus, *onne maadiriye irundaa*
 you like-just was
 'I saw a girl in the bus, she was just like you.'
- (7) a. You are going-*aa*?
 interrogative
 'Are you going?'
- b. You have finished it, *accaa*
 well
 'You have finished it, well.'

Lesser frequency in the mixing of OT with MT (OT<MT) by balanced bilinguals cannot be attributed to their relative lack of competence in the mother tongue. There is perhaps an interplay of knowledge of language and use of language. The other tongue, English, in the Indian situation is formally learned, and its normative use is prestigious. It is largely used in formal contexts, and hence mixing is avoided, particularly within sentences. Such mixing may imply lack of competence in English, undermining the prestige of the speaker. As mixing in the prestigious language

is taken to indicate a lack of competence in it, conveying other social meanings by mixing is compromised.

It would be possible to test this by comparing the mixing pattern of balanced bilinguals in two Indian languages, which do not have difference in status, acquisition process, and domain use. Unfortunately, such data are not available. Most of the studies on code mixing in India are about mixing of Indian languages with English. It would also be instructive to study mixing by unbalanced but stable bilinguals in two Indian languages, who claim higher competence in OT than in MT, like the Tamil (MT)–Kannada (OT) bilinguals in Karnataka and Kannada (MT)–Tamil (OT) bilinguals in Tamil Nadu. The above discussion shows the relevance of language competence in characterizing the universal properties of code mixing and formulating universal constraints on code mixing

13.6 LANGUAGE TYPE

The mixed codes of different languages differ in the frequency with which the different word classes are mixed. It has been stated (Poplack 1978), on the basis of Spanish–English mixing, that mixing of verbs is very restricted, relative to other word classes like nouns. This correlates with a similar preference in borrowing. In Indian language–English mixing (IL<E), mixing of verbs is common. Though data on its frequency relative to noun mixing are not available, verb mixing may turn out to be relatively less frequent than noun mixing. One may speculate that the frequent mixing of verbs in IL<E may be due to the typological fact that IL have weak configurationality in the sense that they do not have fixed word order and perhaps do not have verb phrase. Therefore, the verb is relatively free, unlike the case of subject–verb–object (SVO) languages like English and Spanish, where the verb is tied to the verb phrase. It may also be due to the typological fact that IL are verb-final languages, in which there is more freedom of mixing before the sentence pause, as predicted by Poplack's equivalence constraint (1978).

Another notable difference between IL and Spanish mixed with English is that IL requires a dummy verb 'do' to carry the inflection, but Spanish does not. When the verb is mixed, Spanish uses its inflections on English verbs (Poplack 1978). Spanish and English are genetically related and

typologically similar languages. Using the inflection of OT seems to be possible when one IL is mixed with another IL. There are many instances in convergence between Indian languages where the verb base and the inflections are from different Indian languages. It is also observed in the mixed code of bilinguals in Indian languages. For instance, a balanced bilingual Tamil–Kannada speaker was observed using Tamil<Kannada mixed sentences like the following, where the mixed Kannada (OT) verb inflected with Tamil (MT) suffixes.

- (8) naan *jaari*TTeen
 I(Ta) slip(Ka)-past(Ta)
 'I slipped'

The above observations, though not based on quantitative studies of sizeable data on mixed codes, point to the need for taking different language factors into account when characterizing the nature of code mixing. The universal characterization of code mixing is mediated by language factors like language development stage, language competence, language status, language type and genetic affinity. India is a rich field for studies on such mediating factors, where many variables in bilingualism are discernible and controllable for comparative analysis.³

NOTES

- 1 Even though this chapter uses the terms 'bilingualism' and 'two languages', they are meant to include multilingualism and more than two languages. There can be mixing between more than two languages, though there has been no study on this.
- 2 The frequency is certainly greater when mixing is done with conscious intent, as in children playing with the language or writers wanting to create special effects. In India, the English film magazine *Star Dust* does the latter by mixing English with Hindi in almost every sentence in its gossip columns.
- 3 An earlier version of this chapter was first presented in the Seminar on Language Attitude, Identity, Shift and Maintenance in Mysore in 1982.

LINGUISTIC DETERMINANTS OF CONVERGENCE

A linguistic area is a result of convergence either through bilingualism (Emeneau 1962) or pidginization (Southworth 1975). Both of them require contact between languages and the contact will necessarily be restricted to local areas. The convergence will be more extensive covering wider areas of the grammar and more intensive going to deeper levels in local areas than in the overall region. The convergence, in other words, will not be homogeneous throughout a large region. The local determination of convergence raises an interesting question about language affinity and language distance, since languages of different families are interspersed geographically providing for close and constant contact between them. A language considered to belong to family X on the basis of lexical and phonological correspondence may be quite deviant from other members of that family in syntactic features. It may be quite similar syntactically to a language of family Y. This may be true of dialects of a language also. This has been observed by all earlier writers on the subject and the notion of linguistic area itself is defined on the basis of this

stic (Emeneau 1956 see also Gumperz and

This situation arises out of differences in the extent of convergence in lexicon and syntax. The extent is greater in syntax in general in Indo-Aryan and in the lexicon in literary Dravidian with the exception of Tamil in India. The former is attributed by Southworth (1975; 1980) to the process of pidginization and creolization and the latter is generally believed to be due to elite bilingualism. But pidginization is not the only source for intensive convergence in syntax as is evidenced by the studies of other scholars cited above, which give mass bilingualism as the source for syntactic convergence. This is also supported by the convergence in the diglossic varieties of Tamil (Annamalai 1976), where the question of pidginization does not arise. Due to the fact that larger numbers of people become conversant with the high variety along with the low variety as a result of increasing societal literacy, both varieties in Tamil show convergence and the high variety converges with the low variety more in syntax but keeps itself distinct in lexicon and phonology. The convergence in syntax, which is a more abstract and therefore a less conscious level of the grammar, is motivated by the communicative function of the language to make the process of communication economical and efficient. The divergence in lexicon and phonology, which are less abstract and, therefore, more conscious levels of the grammar, is motivated by the symbolic function of the language to maintain distinct identity and link with the past. Similar motivating factors may play a role in convergence between languages also.

Returning to the local nature of contact, the shared features in a multiplicity of languages in the entire area of India needs an explanation. Scholars have attributed this subcontinental convergence to the limitation of contact between two or a few closely related languages in prehistoric times from which the present languages evolved, to a common source of contact for all or most of the languages, to diffusion of linguistic features from one language to another and to migration of population from one area to another. All these may have played a role and may still play a role in various degrees. Yet there is another factor, viz., linguistic determinants of convergence. Though convergence, which is the extreme manifestation of borrowing, is motivated by socio-cultural factors like prestige and conceptual gaps and cognitive-grammatical factors like optimizing the rules of the grammars of the languages one is conversant with just as a child does when learning a single language with classes of data requiring different rules, its operation is conditioned to some extent by certain general linguistic properties. They partly determine the course and extent of convergence. A linguist committed to treating the language

as a system will not be surprised to find linguistic conditioning which is language specific. The pattern of convergence is conditioned by the pattern of the first language as in the case of English in India or by the pattern of the second language as in the case of Saurashtri, for example, in Tamil Nadu. It will be interesting to study the conditions under which a language becomes a donor or recipient or both in convergence (Nadkarni 1975). This issue is discussed speculatively in the next chapter.

There are also language independent, universal linguistic determinants, which are more interesting. But little attention has been paid in the past to them. These language independent linguistic determinants explain partly why similar convergence takes place in different languages resulting in a large converged area where all the languages are not in direct contact.

We shall give some examples of general linguistic determinants in this chapter from the convergence of relative clauses in Indian languages. It is well known (Masica 1972) that there are two types of relative clauses called the participial and pronominal or correlative types (incorporating and isolating types respectively in Keenan's [1972] typology) in Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages. The participial type is believed to be Dravidian in origin and the pronominal type Indo-Aryan and therefore the convergence is bidirectional. Even though the Dravidian languages have the pronominal type of relative clause, the pronoun is not a distinct relative pronoun but is identical to the interrogative pronoun. There is also the dubitative question morpheme in Dravidian at the end of the relative clause, linking it up with the main clause and confirming the interrogative character of this relative clause.

The Indo-Aryan languages in contact with a Dravidian language in the South also use the interrogative pronoun in variation with the relative pronoun, but more frequently.¹ This has been shown by Nadkarni (1975) for the Indo-Aryan Konkani spoken in Karnataka, whose dominant language is the Dravidian Kannada.

Kannada:	yaava	mudukanu	peepar	ooduttaa
	1	2	3	4
	iddan-oo	avanu	DaakTarnu	iddaane
	5	6	7	8
K.Konkani:	khanco	/ jo	mahaantaaro	peepar
		1	2	3
	vaaccat	aassa(-ki)	to DaakTaru	aassa
	4	5	6	7 8

which old man is reading a newspaper he is a doctor

1 2 5 4 5 6 8 7

'The old man who is reading a newspaper is a doctor'

In the K. Konkani sentence above, *khanco* is an interrogative pronoun and *jo* is a relative pronoun. The linking morpheme *-ki* is optional with *jo*, but is obligatory with *khanco*. Note that the morphemes *khanco* and *-ki* are lexically Indo-Aryan but syntactically Dravidian, substantiating the point made earlier that the lexicon and the syntax are differentiated in convergence.

The change of relative pronoun to interrogative pronoun in K. Konkani is not a simple case of morpheme substitution, as demonstrated by Nadkarni (1975). It allows itself to be constrained by a universal principle predictable from the typological property of a language. The verb final languages, including the languages of SOV word order, do not allow extraposition (Ross 1970) i.e., moving an embedded sentence over a variable to the right of the main verb (without affecting its status)² except when scrambling. This ensures that the verb remains the last element in a clause unless the word order is scrambled in languages which allow relatively free word order. Dravidian languages are verb final languages of the SOV type and do not allow a relative clause, whether it is participial or pronominal, to be extraposed. The fact that Dravidian does not extrapose the pronominal relative clause, a clause type it has acquired from Indo-Aryan, which allows extraposition, shows that the convergence in Dravidian has been subjected to typological constraint. In other words, the fact that the Dravidian has not acquired all the properties of the relative clause of the Indo-Aryan is not arbitrary, but is typologically determined.

Even though the Indo-Aryan languages (except Kashmiri) have SOV order on the surface like the Dravidian, they (at least most of them) also exhibit characteristics of the SVO order found elsewhere in the Indo-European. Hindi, for example, allows forward gapping and extraposition and therefore is claimed to have underlying SVO order (Ross 1970; see Subbarao 1970 for counter arguments). Whatever the merits of the controversy over the word order in Hindi, it is clear that Hindi, and possibly other Indo-Aryan languages also, are typologically a mixed class. Though Indo-Aryan allows extraposition, the relative clause with interrogative pronoun in K. Konkani, which it has acquired from Kannada, is not extraposed. This is due to a typological constraint. This is more interesting than the impossibility of extraposition of the borrowed pronominal relative clause in Dravidian because the constraint in the Konkani case is

imposed by the typological property of the donor language and not the recipient language. The following sentences, which illustrate this, are from Nadkarni (1975).

K. Konkani:	haavee	ek	maankaDu	paLaylo	jo	saykal	callayia:lo
	1		2		3	4	5
							6
	*ha:ve:	ek	ma'nkaDu	paLaylo	khanco	saykal	
	1		2		3	4	5
	callayia:lo	-ki					
	6						
Kannada:	*na:nu	ondu	mangavannu	ooDide	yaavadu	saykal	
	1		2		3	4	5
	naDesuttittu						
	6						
	I saw	a monkey	which was	riding	a bicycle		
	1	2	3	4	6	5	

If the nature of convergence is determined by language independent factors also and not by language specific factors alone, then one could expect similar pattern of convergence in more number of languages. This is true of convergence in the relative clause. The same use of interrogative pronoun and restriction on extraposition of relative clause is reported for Urdu spoken in Andhra Pradesh (Khader Mohiddin 1978 and personal communication).

It was mentioned earlier that the Indo-Aryan languages converged with the Dravidian in relative clause formation by acquiring the participial type. The participial is the incorporating type in which, according to Keenan (1972), the relative clause loses its sentential status and is incorporated into the head Noun Phrase (NP). The loss of sentential status is typically effected by converting the main verb to non-finite form, genitivizing the subject NP of the relative clause and eliminating the NP from the relative clause. It is not necessary for all the languages of the incorporating type to have all these features; the degree of incorporation can differ in languages by their having one or more of these features³. The subject in the participial relative clause in Hindi is genitivized.

Hindi:	meeri	paRhii	huii	kita:b
	my	read		book
Tamil:	naan	paTitta	pustakam	
	I	read		book

This is not a Dravidian feature⁴ and, therefore it cannot be a borrowing from a Dravidian language. The Indo-Aryan languages must have borrowed at the first stage from Dravidian the incorporating type (i.e., the participial) relative clause where the sentence status is reduced by converting the finite verb into a participle and by having the relativized noun zero. After this, the convergence must have propelled its own course by a general linguistic mechanism, which advanced the degree of incorporation further by changing the nominative into the genitive. The change at this stage goes beyond the structure of the contact language.⁵ The impetus for it, therefore, is provided not by the contact language, but by the general typological principle.

The participial type of relative clause in Hindi is not as free as in Dravidian in the case relations the participle has with the head noun. It has only nominative and accusative case relations and not others.

Tamil: neeRRu vanta payyan

1 2 3

Hindi: kalkaa aayaa huua laRkaa

1-gen 2 3

yesterday('s) came boy

1 2 3

'the boy who came yesterday'

Tamil: naan paartta payyan

1 2 3

Hindi: meeraa deekhaa huua laRkaa

1-gen 2 3

I/my saw boy

1 2 3

'the boy whom I saw'

Tamil: naan ruupa-y koTutta payyan

1 2 3 4

Hindi: meeraa rupyaa diyaa huua laRkaa

1-gen 2 3 4

I/my money gave boy

1 2 3 4

'the boy whom I gave money'

Tamil: naan paTitta paLLikkuuTam

1 2 3

Hindi: *meera paRhaa huua skuul

1-gen 2 3

I/my read school

1 2 3

'the school where I studied'

In relational terms, the subject and direct object can be relativized in Hindi but not the indirect object and the oblique objects. A question can be raised as to why only these two relations and not any other two or more when the Dravidian allows all relations (except the sociative in Tamil) to be relativized. Keenan and Comrie (1977) have proposed a universal hierarchy of grammatical relations which is followed by the transformational rules in their application and this order is subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique objects (i.e., other relations), etc. The process of convergence in Hindi follows this hierarchy and the extent of convergence until now has gone up to the first two grammatical relations

It is possible that other Indo-Aryan languages, which have acquired the participial relative clause, have not moved this far⁶ or have moved further down the hierarchy in allowing nouns of other grammatical relations to be relativized. Dakhani Urdu, for example, allows nouns of grammatical as well as oblique relations to be relativized (Khader Mohiddin 1978 and personal communication).⁷

D Urdu. aayaasoo aadmi 'the man who came'

came man

meeraa khaayaasoo aam 'the mango which I ate'

my ate mango

meeraa paDaasoo skuul 'the school where I studied'

my studied school

meeraa khaataasoo chuaari 'the knife with which I cut'

my ate knife

Though Khader Mohiddin's paper does not give any example of relative clause where the dative is relativized, it must be possible if the process of convergence follows the universal hierarchy. This turns out to be true

D. Urdu: meeraa rupyaa diyaaso aadmi 'the man whom I gave money'

my money gave man

The dialects of Hindi differ in the number of grammatical relations relativized.⁸ Saurashtri allows relativization of subject, direct object, indirect object (Pandit 1972) and possibly also oblique relations like Tamil, but unlike Gujarati, a close cognate of it. Other Indo-Aryan languages are also likely to differ in this respect, which is yet to be explored.

The points discussed above about the convergence of relative clauses in Indian languages clearly show that some universal linguistic factors play a role in determining the course of convergence. If the nature and extent of convergence can be predicted on the basis of these and similar facts that are likely to be discovered, it will be a step towards developing an integrated overall theory of convergence.⁹

NOTES

1. It may not be correct to use general terms like Indo-Aryan and Dravidian here and elsewhere in the chapter since individual languages are likely to differ in the syntactic features under discussion.
2. Actually, Ross states that the SOV languages do not 'permit elements rightward around a variable', which is too strong. Tamil, which is an SOV language, allows the numeral, less frequently the adjective and the relative clause, to be scrambled in their nominal form after the head noun.
3. Hindi shows another strategy for reducing the sentential status, viz. genitivizing the adverb.

carankaa aajkaa diyaa huua bhaaSaN
Charan-gen today-gen gave lecture
'the lecture which Charan gave today'

This, however, seems to be optional at least in some cases

kal/kalkaa diyaa huua vacan
yesterday/yesterday-gen gave promise
'the promise given yesterday'

4. Kurukh genitivizes the nominative in the participial relative clause (Ekka personal communication). It must have developed it through its contact with Hindi. This again emphasizes the point the convergence of relative clause in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian is continuous and mutual.
5. This can be compared with the second language learning situation where the learner generates a structure which is neither in his first language nor in the second language.
6. The situation in Gujarati is less straightforward (Pandit 1972). It allows, in the participial relative co only the relativization of the direct object of tive

verbs. This violates the hierarchy, since subject is not relativized in the relative participial construction in Gujarati

Gujarati **hos-elo chokro* 'the boy who laughed'
 laughed boy
 raame joy-elo chokro 'the boy whom Ram saw'
 Ram-erg saw boy

But syntactically the 'direct object' is the subject as regards agreement etc., the agent, being in the ergative case, is not the subject. Gujarati allows syntactic subjects of transitive verbs to be relativized and no other grammatical relation. It thus follows the universal hierarchy and the convergence is extremely limited differentiating between subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs.

7 It must be noted that in Dakhani Urdu the genitivization of the subject of the relative is optional. In the Urdu spoken in Mysore, the nominative is more common. The presence in the midst of a Dravidian language that has the nominative in this position checks further development towards fuller implementation of the typological principle, as in Hindi

8 The Hindi speakers I checked with, who come from different dialect areas, gave differing judgments of acceptability. Gupta (1974) says that only subject can be relativized to give participial relative clause. There are Hindi speakers who accept relativization of indirect object and locative, which are ungrammatical for others. Some Hindi speakers, who reject relativized object accept sentences like the following, where the locative is relativized.

meeri khaayii huni thaali 'the plate in which I ate'
 my ate plate

It is difficult to account for this fact unless one can say that for these speakers relativization has started to move down the hierarchy, but has not yet stabilized. I owe the Hindi judgements and a discussion on Hindi examples to Rekha Sharma, R.A. Singh and J.C. Sharma

9 This chapter was first presented in the Tenth International Conference of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, New Delhi, in 1978.

DIRECTION OF CONVERGENCE

When languages come into contact socially, they do not remain unchanged like physical objects in contact, but undergo change like chemical objects. The changes may be either in the function or in the form of the languages concerned or in both. Functionally, one or some or all of the social groups in contact may become bi- or multilingual by learning the language of other(s). Consequently, there will be functional allocation of domains for the use of different languages the social groups have. The change may also be that one or some of the social groups give up their language in the process of learning and using the language of another group. As the contact is not only between equal social groups but is also between hierarchically differentiated social groups, the functional outcomes of contact are different. Language loss usually takes place with the social group(s) which are not dominant.

When more than one language is maintained by a social group and there is functional allocation between them, there are changes in the form of one or some or all the languages used by that group. Formal changes follow the functional change. There are different processes of formal change known by the names of borrowing, mixing, pidginization

cumulative process transmitted to generations of speakers and the changes are extensive and stable. The changes are effected by the transference of the rules of one language into another as opposed to the transference of forms.

There are some sociolinguistic conditions for the convergence to take place. They are stable and mass bilingualism in one or all the social groups and continuous contact between them. When these conditions are met, logically, there is more than one direction in which convergence can move. The natural question then is whether there is directionality to convergence and whether it can be predicted.

The question of directionality is reduced to two possible directions, viz., the grammar of one language moving towards the grammar of another, and both languages moving in each other's direction selectively with reference to specific grammatical features resulting in a more or less common grammar for the languages in contact, which is not identical with the grammar of either of the two languages. Empirically this is true also when more than two languages are in contact, though logically there can be many possible combinations of languages for influencing. The two actually occurring convergence patterns are those in which all languages converge towards one language or all languages converge with each other selectively. The question about directionality then is when it is unidirectional and when it is bi- or multidirectional (hereafter bidirectional will include multidirectional). Many of the studies of convergence in India involve the language of a minority group living in the midst of a majority group such as Konkani in the Kannada speaking Karnataka and Saurashtri in the Tamil speaking Tamil Nadu. In all these cases, convergence is unidirectional with the minority languages converging with the majority language. Konkani has developed a relative clause structure like Kannada (Nadkarni 1975) and Saurashtri has developed a numeral system like Tamil (Pandit 1972). The study of Gumperz and Wilson (1971), however, is on the languages of an area where the boundaries of two linguistic zones, namely Marathi and Kannada, meet. The languages involved are Marathi, Kannada and Urdu and the convergence is bidirectional. Marathi and Urdu have converged towards Kannada in having natural gender and in losing the ergative. Kannada has converged towards Marathi and Urdu in having the same form for possessive adjective and possessive predicate, copula in equational sentences and a quotative marker preceding the complement sentence. Urdu and Kannada have converged with Marathi in having a distinction between inclusive and

exclusive in first person plural. Bidirectional convergence is also reported by Heath (1978) in the aboriginal languages of Australia.

Convergence invariably takes place when bilingualism is acquired informally. The formal learning of language, on the other hand, reinforces the standard. In it, the corrective measures are strong and social rewards in acquiring the standard are high. Therefore, convergence is not likely to be in the language which is formally learnt. Sanskrit and English are examples of this in India. There will be interference of the mother tongue of the learners in the formally learnt languages, but this is not convergence. However, Indian English has features of the Indian languages, which are not instances of inter-language, as this variety of English is the standard in India and the teachers as well as the speakers of English outside the school provide this model alone for reinforcement. Moreover, unlike interference, these Indian features in English are not transitional and they are carried over to the next generation. It is an open question whether Indian English is an instance of convergence. If it is an instance of convergence, it must be noted that it is a special case of a language formally learnt generation after generation and the model setting teachers of this second language are non-native speakers, who come from second and subsequent generations. Hindi provides examples of formally and informally learnt varieties. The informally learnt variety has the features of convergence contrasting with the formally learnt variety.

In the Indian situation, not all the speakers of a minority language learn a majority language through formal means in schools. There are people in the minority group who do not go to school. Their second language, like the Kannada and Tamil of the illiterate or semi-literate Konkani and Saurashtri speakers respectively, does not converge like the second language of the literate speakers of these communities. This suggests that formal learning alone is not sufficient to explain the direction of convergence. The availability of norm inside or outside the school and the rewards for its acquisition are the important factors determining the direction. Constant contact with the second language is another factor in this regard. This is true as well of Hindi learnt informally for the purpose of social acceptability or mobility and not merely for the purposes of short, intermittent business or tourist transactions.

The formal learning of, i.e. acquiring literacy in, the first language is, however, a crucial factor in reducing convergence in the first language (Nadkarni 1975). But the minority groups normally do not have access to literacy in their first language. If this access had been traditionally available perhaps it would have acted as a corrective force against

convergence. This would also have affected the speech of the members of the group who are illiterate or semiliterate in their first language because the speech of the literate members would have been the standard. When the first language of the minority group is taught in schools in its standard form, as for example the teaching of standard Urdu in Dakhan Urdu-speaking areas, it will be interesting to study whether the convergence in the first language of the minority is reversed or constrained. It is likely that neither of the two might be the case, as the model provided by the teacher in class room interaction and by other speakers outside the school will continue to be the converged variety. It is therefore likely that some kind of diglossia will develop.

It is clear from the above observations that in the case of bilingualism where the social status of the languages are different, the convergence will be unidirectional towards the language of higher status. That is, the language of the lower status will be the converging language. The mode of acquisition, formal or informal, and the model for reinforcement will be the intervening variables that have a moderating role.

It follows from this that when there is no status difference between the languages in contact, convergence will be bidirectional. This raises the issue of defining the social status of languages. The status of a language is unambiguous when its speakers are in majority and have power. Such a language will be necessarily a dominant language (Srivastava 1984). But majority and power are not unambiguous concepts. Majority can be absolute or relative, and absolute majority can be marginal or substantial. Power can be in the political, economic or cultural axis. India has the tradition of differentiating power and distributing it differently, as it treated differently the political and economic power on the one hand and the ritual power on the other. In a multilingual community, land holding, business control and government employment may be distributed differently among the linguistic groups and this is normally the case in border areas, where the linguistic regions meet. The power relations are as fluid as the linguistic relations are. To determine the direction of convergence in such a situation, it is necessary to determine the power relation between the linguistic groups independent of the languages. This is necessary because the power relations are defined by the local people in their local context and not in the overall context of the state.

In the border of Karnataka and Maharashtra states studied by Gumperz and Wilson (1971), three sizeable linguistic communities (besides some minor linguistic communities) interact constantly speaking Kannada, Marathi and Urdu. Kannada speakers are land owners. Marathi speakers

are service providers and Urdu speakers are small traders. All three groups are trilingual. Each group has its own sphere of influence and their power relations are complementary and not hierarchical. Among them convergence is bidirectional, as illustrated above. The complementary power relation also explains why no local lingua franca has developed and all these languages are used in interactions. It may be hypothesized that when one of the languages in a multilingual community is the lingua franca of that community due to its status outside the local community, convergence will be unidirectional and the direction will be towards the lingua franca.

Since bidirectional convergence is selective with regard to grammatical features in the different languages, one may ask about the motivation for the selection. It appears from the Kupwar data that one of the motivating factors is simplification of the grammar. That is, the unmarked grammatical features in any of the languages will be selected. This explains the development of natural gender as opposed to the grammatical gender in Marathi and Urdu and the consequent loss of gender agreement between the modifier and the head and of gender distinction in first and second person verbal endings, and also the loss of the ergative construction and the consequent loss of agreement between the object and the verb. This is simplification in a linguistic sense. There is also a numerical sense of simplification, that is, when two languages have the same features in a contact situation of three languages, it is simpler for the differing feature in one language to converge with the shared feature of other two languages and yield a common feature for all the three languages. This suggests that the dominance of a linguistic feature in a numerical sense may determine the selection and thus the direction of convergence. The development of a quotative marker preceding the complement sentence and of a copula in equational sentences in the Kannada of Kupwar may be explained in this way.

Perhaps all the converged features in bidirectional convergence cannot be explained by these two notions alone and one may have to look in detail at the data for other motivations for selection. The development of distinction between inclusive and exclusive in first person plural in Urdu and Kannada in Kupwar on the pattern of Marathi is one such case which requires a different explanation. Structural pressure, recurring tendency, preferred direction in natural change (drift), etc., may be the notions one can offer as explanation.

With the linguistic reorganization of the states and the language planning activities to homogenize the dominance of a language throughout

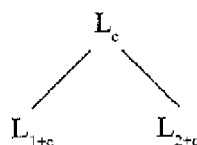
the state including the border areas, a more rigid relation between the languages may develop in the currently fluid areas. The difference between core and periphery disappears in defining language relation. The compulsory teaching of the dominant language of the state in all the schools in the state and the efforts towards universal primary education and literacy in the dominant language add to the changing relation between the languages and their values and also in the reinforcement pattern in the border areas. It will be interesting to study whether these developments bring any change in the pattern of convergence.

There are not many studies of convergence involving only the tribal languages in India. The studies involving a tribal language and a dominant language show, as observed earlier, that the convergence is unidirectional—of the tribal language towards the dominant language. There are instances of features of tribal languages in the dominant languages, which may be established as instances of convergence which took place in the historic past. We do not have evidence of the sociolinguistic relation between these languages at the time the convergence took place. If the present unequal relation existed at that time also, our hypothesis about the unidirectional convergence towards dominant language may have to be modified. Or we may have to take the help of theories of creolization and substratum influence, all of which presume loss of tribal mother tongue on the part of the present-day speakers of the dominant language.

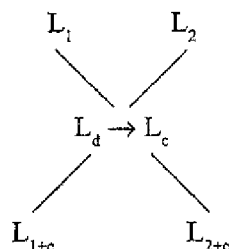
There is evidence from Australia (Heath 1978) that the convergence between the tribal languages is bidirectional. This, of course, does not deny in principle that there could be a hierarchical relationship between tribal languages. Bidirectional convergence takes place only when the tribal languages in contact are equal and complementary in their interactive pattern. The study of convergence between tribal languages, and between tribal and dominant languages in their specific sociolinguistic context, will throw light on the questions raised above on convergence. The question of direction of convergence is a sociolinguistic question and not a linguistic one, even though convergence is a linguistic phenomenon. To quote Weinreich (1953) 'from the structural point of view, interference is to be expected in *BOTH* languages that are in contact. If in practice, the interference occurs only in one direction, it is again such non-structural factors as speaker's linguistic life histories and the cultural settings which are decisive'.

The study of convergence in tribal languages also opens up a new dimension to the question of direction of convergence. The convergence

may not be due to direct contact between languages alone. There are instances of chain of transference of linguistic features, where the features of L_1 found in L_3 may not be directly from L_1 but through L_2 , which got them from L_1 . It may be diagrammed as $L_1 \rightarrow L_{2-1} \rightarrow L_{3+(2+1)}$. The diffusion may be from a common or link language shared by the speakers of tribal languages, which are themselves not in direct contact. This may be diagrammed as



This is the case of having Desia features in the tribal languages of Orissa or Sadari features in the tribal languages of Chhota Nagpur. The actual situation is more complex as the link language (L_c) itself has been influenced by the tribal languages through the process of pidginization of the dominant language (L_d) on which the link language is based. The diagram should be



The tribal languages are believed to be socially more homogenous, i.e., having less social variation. It will be interesting to study how the converged features of bilingual tribals diffuse to the speech of monolingual tribals.

The kind of multilingualism valued and maintained in a society determines the nature of convergence in terms of the components of the grammar which are affected. It is clear from many studies that the lexicon is less affected than the grammar in Indian convergence. In the Australian convergence studied by Heath (1978), lexical convergence is also equally extensive. Indian multilingualism prefers to maintain ethnic boundaries through the maintenance of a separate lexicon while obliterating grammatical boundaries for the ease of language production and processing. It

will be interesting to see whether this distinction between lexicon and grammar is maintained in the case of converging tribal languages in India.

Convergence is only one manifestation of social cohesion expressed through language. The process of cohesion is manifested in different aspects of culture. It will be illuminating to compare the process of convergence in language with the process of acculturation and to look for parallelisms. It is normal to expect that they will not run counter to each other. A parallel study of acculturation will reinforce the study of convergence and will give supporting evidence for questions on convergence like the one on direction discussed in this chapter.¹

NOTE

1. An earlier version of this chapter was first presented in the National Seminar on Tribal Languages: Contact and Convergence at Osmania University, Hyderabad in 1987.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF CONVERGENCE

16.1 THE PHENOMENON

Convergence is a linguistic process leading to reduction in linguistic distance between languages in contact. It is simultaneously a linguistic, historical and social phenomenon. It has parallels in other areas of human behaviour besides language and has some commonness with the phenomena of acculturation in Anthropology and socialization in Sociology. In all three, contact and change are important defining features. The investigators of these phenomena may differently emphasize shared forms or shared values and behaviour. Even though the linguists have concentrated on the convergence of linguistic form, there is a priori no reason to preclude sharing of linguistic values such as perceptions about and attitudes towards standard variety, model for language development, boundary line between dialects and languages, functional distribution of language. The linguist can look at India as one speech community

from the point of view of shared linguistic values and behaviour with as much justification as when he looks at it as one linguistic area from the point of view of shared linguistic forms. To establish India as a speech community, he will have to deal with convergence of linguistic values and behaviour, as the different linguistic communities in India have diverse sociolinguistic backgrounds. With this emphasis, linguistic convergence will have more similarities with acculturation and socialization.

Convergence as a linguistic process should be transference or diffusion of linguistic features of one language (L1) into another (L2). It is not necessary that convergence is unidirectional in that, of the two languages in contact only one should be affected by transference or diffusion. It can be bi- or multidirectional with both or all the languages in contact transferring features between themselves. In fact, Weinreich (1953) considers this to be the normal pattern.

16.2 INTERFERENCE

The transference of linguistic features from one language to another is found not only in convergence but in many other linguistic phenomena also. It is necessary to distinguish all of them linguistically and sociolinguistically. In language learning situations, there is interference of the first language or mother tongue (L1) with the second or target language (L2). L2 exhibits features of L1. This is a result of transfer of learning from L1, which has already been learnt, to L2, which is a new learning situation. In the process of learning L2, the learner creates interlanguage (Selinker 1972), which may be L2 with features of L1 or a new construct with some features found neither in L1 nor in L2. Interference takes place in formal as well as informal learning of language, though many of the studies of what is called interference are in the context of formal language learning. The studies of informal language learning in bi- or multilingual situations do not call the diffusion of linguistic features interference, with the exception of Weinreich (1953). The transference of linguistic features in interference is unidirectional and is towards the target language in formal language learning. It is always the target language which is interfered with and this is the case with the transference of the

social status of the target language and the social relation between the speakers of the first language and the second language. The sociolinguistic situation obtained when interference takes place is incipient bilingualism. Interference takes place in the process of the learner becoming a balanced bilingual. It suggests that interference is a transient phenomenon expected to reduce when learning progresses and is completely eliminated when the learning is successfully completed. This is, however, only the ideal as the studies have abundantly demonstrated that acquisition of native-like competence in a second language—i.e., without interference—by adults is an exception rather than a general rule. Even when ideal conditions of learning like social motivation, continuous reinforcement, opportunities for use, planned input (in terms of methods and materials in the case of formal learning) prevail, interference remains in different degrees. It may be more persistent in phonetics and phonology than in other components of the grammar. The case of children, however, is different. The children who learn a second language before the critical period around puberty may in ideal conditions acquire interference-less competence in L2 equivalent to the native speakers of similar background. It may also be the case that children start with relatively less interference than adult learners.

The learning of a second language is repeated afresh by each generation and each generation goes through the similar process of interference. In other words, inter-language, the product of interference, is not passed on from one generation to another when successive generations learn the same second language as English is learnt in India formally or as any majority language like Tamil is learnt informally and/or formally by any minority group like Saurashtris. Interference is experienced and repeated by each successive generation in its own cycle of learning. It is possible that interference is a phenomenon of the individual. It is true that interference is not idiosyncratic and there is a system in it. It is also true that there is some uniformity in the pattern of interference exhibited in the second language by the speakers of the same first language. The Tamil speakers, for example, have some common or shared patterns of interference of Tamil in their English and this pattern is different in certain ways from that of Punjabi speakers in their English. (It is also true that the second language learning irrespective of the language concerned has some common patterns). Nevertheless, recent studies (Fillmore 1979) have pointed out that there are systematic differences between individuals based on different learning strategies adopted by them. It can then be

said that interference is a process motivated both by the individual's learning strategies and the community's shared linguistic experience

Convergence takes place when there is a stable bilingualism. It is not a process of learning a language (i.e., construction of the grammar of another language) as interference is, but is a process of reducing linguistic distance between the two languages of the bilingual (i.e., homogenizing two grammars). It is motivated by constant use of both languages and switching between them in different domains. It is not transient like interference, but is stable. It may be a continuous process over generations. The linguistic changes are cumulative and are passed on from one generation to another. In other words, the same incidents of convergence are not experienced and repeated by each generation. There can be monolingual speakers of converged language. There cannot be monolingual speakers of interfered language or inter-language. This means that even though stable bilingualism is necessary for the process of convergence to start and to extend, it is not necessary for the perpetuation of converged language. On the other hand, interfered language or inter-language cannot be perpetuated (i.e., repeated) without bilingual contact. Convergence and interference, nevertheless, are not unrelated processes. Interference in formal language learning may leave some converged features in L2 which are not produced afresh by every generation and have become part of the L2 input. This may happen when L2 is taught by non-native speakers of that language who have some features of L1 left in their L2, which they pass on to the next generation of learners. Indian English has some features like absence of tense and person-number distinction in tag questions (John told you this, isn't it?), absence of negative-positive concord in answers to yes-no questions (didn't John tell you this?; yes, he didn't.), absence of change of word order in the embedded interrogatives (I asked John where was he going) and absence of direct and indirect objects with transitive verbs (Did you see it?; yes, I saw; I told this yesterday, I asked John what he told) which are transmitted across generations without each generation producing it through interference. These are converged features in Indian English. These are, in fact, the features which define Indian English as distinct from other varieties of English.

Interference in informal language learning may not be ephemeral and may lead to extensive and stable borrowing and even to convergence as the cases discussed by Weinreich (1953) are likely to be. This can happen under certain social conditions and contact situations. The social conditions may be that there is no social pressure like discrimination or rewards

like prestige for attaining native competence in L2, and there is no reinforcement through literacy. The contact situations may be such that L2 is functionally restricted to the bilingual and is not used by him in formal contexts. This will be the typical situation when both communities in contact are not literate or when either of the two languages is not socially important from the material point of view. L2 may be of this kind when an officer goes to work in an aboriginal area or even to a developed language area where, however, the language of administration is different from the language of the area.

When both L1 and L2 are learnt simultaneously informally, interference can be bidirectional. Conversely, convergence will be unidirectional only when 'such non-structural factors as speakers' linguistic life-histories and the cultural setting...are decisive' (Weinreich 1953).

When one of the languages is dominant, convergence affects only the dominated language (Chapter 15). It is Saurashtra, Marathi, Telugu and Kannada spoken by minority communities in Tamil Nadu which converge towards Tamil. The Tamil of these minority communities does not converge towards their respective mother tongues. It does not mean that there is no influence of the minority language over the dominant language. But these influences will be instances of interference and borrowing and not of convergence.

In the Kupwar village in the Maharashtra-Karnataka border studied by Gumperz and Wilson (1971), Marathi, the language of commerce, schooling and administration in the area, has converged in certain respects towards Kannada, the language of the majority in the village, who own the land and, conversely, Kannada has converged towards Marathi in certain respects. Urdu, the language of the land owning minority in the villages, has converged towards Marathi and Kannada. Urdu has converged in a large number of features as would be expected because of its minority position. The convergence of Marathi, which can be taken as the dominant language (though it is spoken by a low status service caste in the village) because of its official status and role in the larger region, is contrary to the suggestion made above about the direction of convergence towards the dominant language. It may be that the dominance is fluid in this particular village because of the conflicting dominating roles of Kannada at the village level and Marathi at the regional level. The point is that the social role of language does not play a role in interference as it does in convergence.

16.3 PIDGINIZATION

Pidginization is a process characterized by reduction in form and function of language (Hymes 1971). The formal reduction may occur in a monolingual speaker when he uses his language for a specific function like talking to a monolingual foreigner with the assumed purpose of making comprehension easier. It can occur in other situations as well (Samarin 1971). The situation which is of interest to us is the bi- or multilingual contact between socio-economically unequal groups, which is not continuous. There is no need to learn one's or each other's language for interactive coexistence, but there is a need for communication during brief contacts for transacting specific businesses like trade and service. There may be some similarities linguistically between the language learning process and pidginization, but their functional goals and contexts are different. The predominant aspect of contact is not the social integration and the learning of language to achieve it, but is the instrumental use of language with minimal verbal exchange. The elements that make up the language evolved for this purpose are drawn from both or all languages in contact and they are generally the lexicon from the language of the dominant group and the grammar (including phonology) from the language of the dominated group or groups. The linguistic reduction is in the lexicon as well as in the grammar and it involves reducing allophonic and allomorphic variation resulting in a more regular system, reducing phonemic and morphemic contrasts resulting in a simpler system with generalized grammatical function, reducing structural or relational elements in syntax resulting in simpler and shorter sentences, and reducing lexical differentiation resulting in fewer words with wider range of meanings. The functional reduction is in the single domain in which the pidginized language exists independently from the mother tongues of the groups in contact and is always a second language in its use.

Convergence does not involve formal and functional reduction as described above in pidginization. The contact situation in convergence is different—it is continuous and integrative. The lexicon, at least in the Indian cases, is not heavily affected in convergence.

16.4 CREOLIZATION

When the contact becomes continuous and socially inclusive of the groups or when the mother tongue is lost for one of the groups, usually a dominated group (it happens normally when the dominated groups are multilingual and each group is not big enough to sustain itself separately and they are mixed through marriage), the process of pidginization is reversed into creolization. Creolization involves elaboration in form and function. In the process of elaboration, the linguistic features from both languages continue to be present and expanded. In some special political situations of creole communities, where the dominant language, from which the creole was derived, provides social mobility and exercises its influence through education and mass media, the creolized languages may come close enough to the dominant language to be called its dialect (Bickerton 1975). But it may still have some traces of the dominated language. Convergence is not a process of elaboration as it does not involve the loss of mother tongue as a precondition. The converged language may have many features of the creolized language, tempting investigators to call the former a creole without a pidgin (Pandit 1972). But the linguistic process and the sociolinguistic situations involved in the two cases are different.

16.5 CODE MIXING

Code mixing is a process in which the elements from two languages are extensively mixed by bilingual speakers (Chapter 11; Pfaff 1979). Mixing has linguistic, stylistic, social and psychological functions (Kachru 1978, Southworth 1980; Sridhar 1978), which are different from the motivations of convergence. Mixing is done on the first language of the bilingual which remains as the base language to host the items from the second language. The grammars of the two languages are kept intact down to the phonetics of the mixed elements. A sequence larger than a word may be mixed from the second language, but it retains the grammatical structure of that language. Unlike convergence there is no fusion into one

grammar of elements from two discrete sources. Unlike the borrowed words, which may be phonologically assimilated and which may undergo semantic change, there is no adaptation of the mixed words by the host language. The constraints on mixing are likely to be different from the constraints on borrowing, though there appear to be some similarities in the relative order of items preferred for mixing and borrowing. Mixing does not require mass bilingualism, as convergence does. It may happen, like borrowing, with elite bilingualism. Mixing is an individual phenomenon in the sense that everyone individually experiences it and that it is not inherited generationally. It is like interference in this respect. In the individual speakers also, mixing is indeterminate or unstable in the sense that the items to be mixed are unpredictable and it is like any language use, where the choice of words and sentences is by and large open ended for the speaker. It may be said that mixing is a matter of language use while borrowing is a matter of language structure. From the point of view of sociolinguistics, there is likely to be code switching in a community, where there is code mixing. This is not necessary for borrowing. There is, on the other hand, usually constant code switching as a precondition for convergence to take place, though convergence has been reported in the literature where there is no constant code switching (Heath 1978)

16.6 BORROWING

Borrowing is an instance of diffusion where the elements of one language are adopted into another when the communities speaking the two languages differ culturally in general. The direction of borrowing is, predominantly but not exclusively, from the culturally prestigious language into the other. The borrowed items, again predominantly but not exclusively, relate to culturally specific objects and concepts. As the source language is prestigious and provides a model, non-cultural items may also be borrowed due to their perceived value. The above characterization of borrowing suggests that it is a relatively conscious process and that it primarily affects the lexicon. Elite bilingualism is sufficient for borrowing to take place and the initial instances of borrowing may start with individuals or groups and then may spread to the entire community. It is also reversible under certain socio-political conditions (Annamalai 1979)

when borrowing becomes so extensive as to threaten the separate identity of the borrowing language in popular perception. The items once adopted in the borrowing language will be inherited by the successive generations. Each generation does not borrow them afresh, but might add to the already borrowed items. Though convergence is similar to borrowing in this respect of transmission, it is different in that it requires mass bilingualism, it does not spread from individuals or groups to others and it is not reversible.

Based on the above characterization of the different linguistic processes in which the elements of one language transfer into another, they may be differentiated in terms of their sociolinguistic and linguistic characteristics as given in the matrix below. It must be emphasized that the features are not absolute but relative and there is overlapping between the processes. A criss-crossing graphic model may bring out better the similarities and difference between them than the table below with sharply demarcated boxes. Their distinctiveness is emphasized here in spite of their fuzziness because of the usefulness of these concepts, at least as initial hypotheses, to understand the sociolinguistic contexts of language contact and the linguistic consequences of such contacts.¹

A Feature Matrix of Different Language Contact Phenomena

Feature	Interference	Pidginization	Code mixing	Borrowing	Convergence
Nature of Contact	continuous	intermittent	continuous	continuous	continuous
Social status of languages	not relevant	relevant to happening	relevant to direction	relevant to direction	relevant to direction
Nature of bilingualism	incipient	incipient	elite and stable	elite and stable	mass and stable
Critical functional context	learning	minimal and specific communication	intensive communication	learned communication	intensive and extensive communication
Transmission	cyclic, repeated every learner	linear, but not cumulative	cyclic, repeated by every speaker	linear and additive	linear and by cumulative
Direction	L2 is affected	L2 is affected ¹	L1 is affected	L1 is affected	L1 is affected ²
Stability ³	transitional	stable	stable	stable	stable
Mode of change	transfer of rule	formation of rule	transfer of form	transfer of form	transfer of rule
Extent of grammatical change	Limited	extensive	none	marginal	extensive

Process of reduction/ removal of change	Standard- ization	creolization	purism	purism	purism
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1. The pidgin is considered a derivative of L2 and not L1.
2. L1 and L2 are affected where there is simultaneous bilingual acquisition.
3. This excludes change that is brought about under specific political or ideological conditions

NOTE

1. This chapter is a revised version of lectures given in 1986 at the Linguistic Society of India and subsequently at Annamalai University (1986) and Osmania University (1987).

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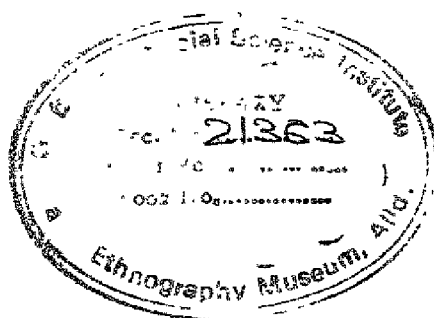
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